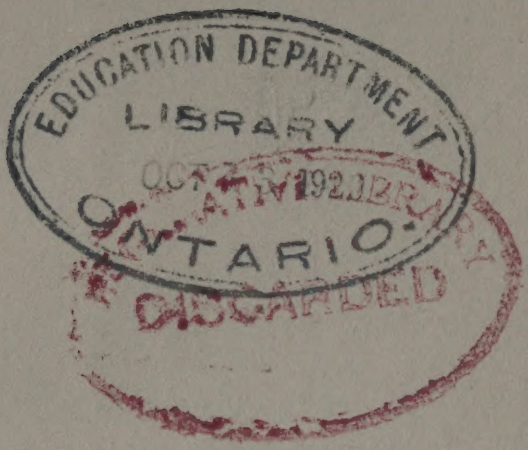
NEW HUMANIST SERIES

EDUCATION FOR SELF-REALISATION & SOCIAL SERVICE

FRANK WATTS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The New Humanist Series

HONORARY EDITOR :
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EDUCATION FOR SELF-REALISATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

BY

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GENERAL PREFACE

THE present is a period of transition between an old era painfully passing and a new era gradually dawning. While necessarily reflecting this condition of society, education must also, with united prudence and courage, take up its own particular responsibility in the field of spiritual leadership. True to its best traditions, education must tenaciously conserve the priceless, tested treasures in its own ancient storehouse; yet also foresee, with clear vision, the new spiritual needs of the future and provide the food whereby the young generation may grow and flourish.

In such a spirit the present educational series has been carefully designed. Its first appeal is to the teachers themselves, through whom the pupils can be most fitly and effectively helped.

As a first practical step a small number of expert teachers of proved initiative, keenness and competence, have been selected with care; and these have been invited to set down their ideals and ideas, solidly based upon their experience and study of principles in the cardinal subjects of the curriculum.

But this proposal to deal with the education of the young is only the first step, though the most important, in the design to be embodied in the New Humanist Series.

The need for such a departure seems justified by

the coming of continuation schools, the extension of post-graduate research, the increasingly vigorous adult education movement, the growing attendance at our academies, colleges and universities of men and women of all ages in the various professions and occupations, men and women of maturer years who have never before visited the schools of the higher learning. All these facts are ample evidence that education will, to an increasing degree, come to mean a process embracing the whole of life throughout its several *grandes périodes*. This great truth the Church has for ages recognised. The time is at hand when education must weave it as the central thread into its ground pattern of human life, multi-coloured and rhythmical.

To no less than this ideal *The New Humanist* is dedicated.

The name implies a union both of the new and of the old. It is new in so far as the most modern advances of knowledge will be sought wherever they may haply be found, in order to fructify the many and varied fields of education we have in view. It is old in that the centre of our interest will ever be humanity itself, the whole life of man and woman complete, as revealed in the successive periods of its wonderful life-cycle from childhood to old age.

This wider aim will lead to a careful study, by writers specially qualified to deal with each period of life, of the conditions under which the full development of life may be realised during that particular period. So wide a programme can, however, be carried out only by slow, gradual steps; and the first stage, as already stated, will be in the field as yet the best explored by human wisdom—the

teaching of the main cardinal subjects in the education of the young. These subjects of the curriculum will be discussed by experts not too far removed by time from their own school years; and preceded, so far as possible, by general volumes, such as the present one by Mr. Watts, upon the psychological bearings of the teacher's science and art at the present time.

Mr. Frank Watts is already favourably known to his fellow-teachers by his able and original work on *Echo Personalities*.[1] It is hoped that the present work will be found equally suggestive.

Intimately allied with the periods of human life (individual and racial) is the evolution of the cardinal vocational activities of man. Every occupation or business of man is primarily born of some natural talent, characteristic of some particular age. Yet years, business and the talent demanded remain too often but ill-adjusted. Education has hitherto been content to prepare man for his occupation once for all in his youth. The new era of education will serve a wider purpose. It will reveal the laws, psychic and corporal, by which changing man may re-adjust himself at each period of his life to his business; and the laws, social and economic, by which changing business may be re-adjusted to each period of human life. This wider subject, then, of the psychology of occupations, as inherent in human life, also forms an essential element in the design of *The New Humanist*.

A word is due to the reader on the special volume to be contributed by the Honorary Editor himself, apart from his general responsibility for particular volumes.

[1] Geo. Allen & Unwin, London.

He has had for many years in MS. a treatise on the psychology of the human life-cycle in its six great periods (childhood, adolescence, maturity, mid-life, senescence and old age) and on the correlation of these with the cardinal natural occupations and spiritual vocations of humanity.

But the desire to submit his conclusions to a more thorough test, to obey the maturing conditions of time, in a field which he has found so little worked by scholars, at home or abroad, has induced him to refrain as yet from publication in this peculiarly complex field of educational research.

A brief outline, however, of part of his thesis has been inserted in the present work under the title of "A Map of Life."[1] This map will, it is hoped, be found useful also in connection with Mr. Watts's treatment of the instincts. *Being a map its utility is realisable only by frequent consultation.*

Those readers who are interested in the general views of the Honorary Editor upon education and its philosophical basis may be referred to his two recently published works.[2]

Finally, it should be added that while there will be found a general concordance of spirit between the volumes of the series, due to the broad identity of aim common to the writers, the final responsibility for the particular opinions expressed in each volume rests solely with its author.

BENCHARA BRANFORD
(*Honorary Editor*).

[1] See pp. 99–106.

[2] *Janus and Vesta* (Chatto & Windus, 1916) and *A New Chapter in the Science of Government* (Chatto & Windus, 1919).

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This is a book written primarily for teachers of the young, and is introductory to the first part of the general design of the New Humanist Series outlined in the preceding General Preface. But parents and students will also, it is hoped, find in it much that concerns them. The author has attempted to provide a point of view and jumping-off ground from which those provinces of interest to the educator, that lie farther afield than the daily round commonly takes him, may be easily glimpsed and excursions readily planned to reach them.

It will be obvious to those who are acquainted with the writings of the Honorary Editor of the series of which this book is the first volume, that the author is greatly indebted to him for much in the way of general inspiration; for this and for much detailed suggestion also the author is deeply grateful.

F. W.

Sycamore Cottage,
Marple Bridge.
April 1920.

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PART I

THE SCHOOL, THE SCHOLAR AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been said by the psychologists that all our introspection is fundamentally retrospection. Particularly must this be true of social introspection, for the people of any one age are too much a part of the forces and tendencies which are most vital in their own day and hour ever to be more than vaguely aware of the inner nature and direction of the tumultuous tide of passion and idealism which bears them along through the reaches of time towards their unpredictable and unescapable destiny. It is making only too commonplace a remark to say that, being as we are, wholly immersed in the stream of life, we can never rise above and beyond it, and so become capable of contemplating its flow calmly from the view-point of a cool, impartial spectator. Consequently, all our social introspection is limited

to the *post-mortem* examination of the life which is either already spent or nearly spent. In this connection, indeed, one is reminded of the observation of Walter Bagehot,[1] to the effect that the academies which honour the great men of their time are merely the asylums of the ideas and the tastes of the age preceding them.

So that whatever we may be able to say without fear of contradiction about the dead, we can only make random guesses as to who among the living may be our most representative men and women. The prophets of the present moment may still, as of old, lack honour in their own time and country, and it may well be that even to-day we are just as insensible to the sovereign greatness of the best spirits among us, as Robert Greene proved himself to be, in writing his *Groat's Worth of Wit*, to what we now see was the easy excellence of the most supremely wise and human of all Englishmen, William Shakespeare. Or we may be as ignorantly blind to the patent genius of certain of our young writers as the critics of *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Quarterly Review* were to the clear and rare qualities in the work of John Keats.

Even the apparent exceptions to the unvarying rule that people as a whole are unable to see the art of the inspired innovator of their own day in secular perspective disappear upon a deeper investigation, for the innovators in such cases are men and women who have contrived to give pleasing and decisive expression and form to that which, although obscure and formless, is, nevertheless, still powerfully if unconsciously active in the minds of their con-

[1] *Physics and Politics.*

temporaries. It is true, for example, that Milton's epic *Paradise Lost* was straightway recognised as a masterpiece, and that in our own day Bergson's exquisitely formulated doctrine of the *élan vital*, or the "life-urge," as the ultimate thing of things, won immediate acceptance as a masterly contribution to philosophy. But in each case the world discovered that, in reality, it had been for some time eager to hear divinely uttered what within it had no more than just trembled upon the verge of utterance and remained unspoken; so that there had been already manifesting itself a gradual growth and accumulation of interest, ready to fasten for support upon any live and appropriate thing which might spring up. In the time of Milton it was Puritanism which was still awaiting an authentic and impressive apology for its existence, and *Paradise Lost* supplied it, while Bergson's philosophy was after all the fruiting of the seed which Schopenhauer, with his doctrine of the blind, unreasoning will-to-live as the ultimate reality, had sown earlier in the nineteenth century.

What is the position in the Educational world to-day? What are its current tendencies? And can we say that the stream is flowing in any particular direction?

From what has already been said, the reader will gather that one can hope to do no more than hazard an intelligent guess. Educational theory, however, like political theory,[1] usually follows closely in the wake of philosophical theory, and it is comparatively safe to judge the nature of current educational ten-

[1] See Ernest Barker: *English Political Thought from Spencer to To-day.*

dencies from the general trend of the philosophy which is already obsolescent. In the period through which we have just passed, we have seen, in the philosophic world, discredit thrown scornfully from every side upon the claims of the finite human reason to be accepted as an infallible guide to truth. A powerful reaction against what is contemptuously called "intellectualism" has been in progress for some time, but we have undoubtedly witnessed the extreme swing of the pendulum towards "anti-intellectualism," and already it is on the downward return. In politics, the corresponding movement towards syndicalism, direct action and a deep distrust of the constructive thinker has reached its zenith. In education, the movement in favour of non-interference with the growth of the child and the attitude which applauds the post-Victorian principle that youth must not be restrained but at all costs be allowed to have its fling, is already past its prime.

While, therefore, the pragmatists have been rejoicing in their successful invasion of the field of logic, and the Bergsonians have pitilessly demonstrated the intellect to be but a sorry weapon to employ in comparison with intuition, if we wish to wrest from life her innermost secrets, while the psychoanalysts have been telling us to our deep mortification that man is what he has always been, with but a thin veneer thrown over his nature by civilisation, and the mystics and the psychic researchers have been shouting aloud the tidings that man is whatever he may care to be, the new encyclopædia of a more completely universal and more satisfactorily synthesised philosophy has been in

preparation, and educational movements will soon begin to embody its conclusions.

The times are indeed ripe for gathering up the separately spun threads of the ages. We may yet see the truth, beauty and goodness of science, art and religion crystallised into unity, and securely and commonly held in the grasp of a perfect understanding. Instinct, intellect and intuition will one day function happily together in the thinking of all men, while the individual and the group, the living and the dead, will be knit together in the closest community of spirit. The same thing will happen in education. Too much has been made of the opposition of the dynamic to the static, of education to instruction, of individual to social, of interest to effort, and the like. Or to see it differently in our further search for synthesis, "to deify any element of the great circle binding individual to family, family to city, city to state, state to humanity, the dead to the living, and the living to the unborn babe—is to fall into the sin of ancient idolatry with the inevitable Nemesis thereof." [1]

It is the shock of the Great War which has been responsible for our new sense of proportion and direction. It has thrown up full-bodied into the social consciousness ideas and impulses which were only just beginning to take life and form. It is quite obvious to-day, too, that in Germany on the one hand, and in the other nations of Western Europe on the other hand, the dominant forces shaping human life have hitherto been blindly driving away from the light along diverging paths.

[1] Benchara Branford: *Janus and Vesta: A Study of the World Crisis and After* (Chatto & Windus, 1916).

The sudden silence in these times of many of our most influential thinkers and leaders who before the war tried to stem the movement of the nation towards what they thought to be anarchy and disaster, and were decidedly vocal at one time in their praise of German efficiency (but now cannot be persuaded into saying a single word in praise of the German methods of national organisation and education), is an eloquent testimony to the unphilosophic nature and character of many of our pre-war beliefs. Let us at this point illustrate once more—it has been so often done—the difference between the pre-war outlook of the German and the Englishman from their respective attitudes towards education.

The conception of education which held almost universal sway among the writers of English educational text-books in the latter half of the nineteenth century had flowered luxuriantly from the philosophy of individualism which had rooted itself in our midst. This was a natural state of affairs, for commerce and industry and politics had already succumbed to the spread of the individualistic idea, so much so, indeed, that public opinion was almost entirely preoccupied with the problems of safeguarding or developing political and economic individuality. The first great signs of the new times had been seen in the writings of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, in the Declaration of Independence by the American colonists in 1784, and in the Declaration of Right by the French revolutionaries in 1789. In our own country men heard a great deal in the Victorian and Edwardian age of the doctrine of "natural rights," of the "social contract," by which some of the latter were exchanged for the security

of citizenship, of the intoxicating gospel of self-realisation, of the championship of "man versus the State," and of the Rousselian aphorism that "man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains."

In the realm of biology, Charles Darwin, with patient but brilliant skill, had shown the development of life to depend on the selfish individual struggle for survival among fiercely competing organisms, and had proved to the satisfaction of the nineteenth-century scientists that all human development was due to this struggle. The eugenists later took over this conception—of evolution through struggle—into the world of the social sciences. Here they found for it a ready welcome, for long practice had been based upon its "truth," as the squalid industrialism and fratricidal commercial competition of a hundred and fifty years have provided us with dismal illustration. The sociologists, too, inspired by Spencer, have until recently been strangely unmindful of those co-operative groups within the State which are most essential to the national well-being.[1] To-day it seems incredible that the political and economic writers of the nineteenth century should have propounded their theory of the sacred right of the individual to freedom with such vigour, and yet have been blind to the obvious practical results of their teaching in unbounded opportunity and devitalising privilege for the few on the one hand, and economic and spiritual degradation for the many on the other.

[1] It is only now being recognised that Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* marked a notable advance on Darwinian individualism by its emphasis upon the factor of co-operation in evolution.

The Darwinian or biological conception of education is very popular at the present moment. According to this conception, education is regarded as a process aiding environmental adjustment, the intelligent man being the man who is able to adjust himself readily and accurately to the changing environment about him. One feels inclined on meeting this view to say that it is faulty because it posits no *aim* in the adjustment process: the card-sharper and the "woman-of-no-importance," the profiteer and the tramp have all secured an adjustment to their environment; so that, presumably, their education has been successful. But are these people *educated* in any passable sense of the word? Again, in so far as this conception of education as adjustment emphasises the fact merely of individual adjustment to environment, it is as open to criticism as any other purely individualistic theory: you do not alter or refine the lower forms of selfishness by calling them adjustments. One of the greatest, if not the greatest of educational problems is to lead the child to desire new and more complex adjustments than those with which at the moment he is content; so that the biological conception needs modification here too. Man is more than an organism; he has within him the spiritual need for self-expression, regardless of the fact whether it makes for happy adjustment or not; and to make art, literature and music depend for their *raison d'être* upon the effort at securing adjustment to environment, rather than upon the need for self-expression and development, is to carry the principle into spheres where it can have no useful application.

Again, the term "adjustment to environment"

suggests too much the subordination of the human being to his surroundings. It implies the constant inhibition of tendencies here, and of compromises there; the suffering of the fluid of human individuality to fit the rigid mould of circumstance. But education fails altogether if it does not help one to gain a *mastery* over one's environment, and to develop the power to remould it to one's needs. The sculptor, for example, who can make the same fragment of marble exhibit at once the hardness of bone, the firmness of muscle and the softness of flesh, and all of them express together grace of action and either vivacity or calmness of mind, as the mood or hour dictates, in a manner which is the delight of all ages, is not the slave but the master of the material he works in. The genius who scorns the repetition of his old tricks, rejects the stereotyped response and creates a new one, is inadequately explained by any definition which makes intelligence no more than an accurate adjustment to environment. So the eternal striving of the poet to make beauty his own, the self-sacrifice of the mother, the selfless heroism of the patriot, and the insatiable thirst of the scholar for deeper knowledge than he possesses are not explained as due to any desire for adjustment because there is never any kind of adjustment with which our passionate and aspiring life can be for more than a brief moment satisfied.

The typical English educational text-book—happily theory and practice were never wholly consistent—has shown the same individualistic bias as marked the thought of the economist and politician. A reverence, almost maniacal, for individualism,

and a fear that it might not be allowed by Government departments to blossom undisturbed, have been the educationists' characteristics for decades. Consequently, up to very recently, the teacher has been trained for the task of dealing with the effective *instruction*—rather than *education*—of the individual, and the psychology he has studied has been too exclusively the psychology of the individual mind. The social aspects of education, and the life of the individual as a member of a family, church, city, political party, etc., have been almost entirely missed by the average English writer, at any rate while the reactionary educational ideals of Mr. Herbert Spencer have been in the focus of attention. This point may be illustrated from the writings of R. H. Quick, for some years one of the most popular English essayists on the subject of education. Writing in the 1890 edition of his *Essays on the Educational Reformers*, he announced that the latest advances in pedagogy had established "that (1) the end and aim of education is to develop the faculties of the mind and body; (2) all teaching processes should be adapted carefully to the mental constitution of the learner; (3) the first stage of learning is very important and requires a very high degree of skill in the teacher; (4) the brain of children, especially clever children, should not be subjected to pressure; (5) childhood should not be spent in learning foreign languages: its language should be the mother tongue, and its exercises should include handwork, especially drawing; (6) girls' education should be cared for no less than boys'; (7) the only hope of improving our schools lies in providing training for our teachers.

These are all regarded as planks in the 'New Education.'"

All this is admirable but incomplete. Nevertheless, it illustrates our point. Quick lived in the great age of individualism, and though he had noted social interests among some of the reformers, he failed to emphasise the need for their development as a necessary and fundamental element in the new pedagogy.

But while, as the biological conception holds, the individual may properly be considered as a unit, his types of reaction show the signs of a constant interplay between himself and his environment, a fact which precludes the possibility of considering his nature with profit apart from a study of this environment, especially when the reactions are those on the social level of conduct, and the environment is psychical as well as physical.

In Germany as compared with England, the complementary but equally unsatisfactory tendency has been to emphasise the life of the finite group at the expense of the individuality of the component members. In the last fifty years a substantial remoulding of the German national character has been effected with amazing success. A deliberately planned and systematically developed attempt has been made to create a new type of German patriot whom the fellow-citizens of Goethe and Schiller would scarcely have recognised as their own countryman. The individuality of the subject was frankly made instrumental to the achievement of national glory. In the process the average German became brutalised and materialised. Used as we are to the idea that there is nothing more sacred in the last resort than

individuality, we recoil in horror from the flat blasphemy of rulers who without a trace of shame set themselves coolly to impose a rigidly uniform system of beliefs and ideals upon the docile minds of a whole people. Yet Germany was incontestably right in at least one respect, even if in the most important respect she was so reprehensibly wrong.

There is, in spite of Rousseau and Spencer, something, after all, which is of greater value than mere individual self-preservation. Greater than mere living is living nobly. So that if man puts individual self-preservation first, civilisation and culture are doomed. Man belongs to himself; but not to himself alone. It was the myopic perception of this fact that led the Germans to believe it right to place the whole nation in the irons of a coercive discipline for the sake of the national well-being. No such quick change on a large scale had ever been effected before in recorded human history. But let us not be misunderstood. The Germans were indisputably right in wishing to make the whole nation of one mind and purpose about the essential need of living for German well-being, and magnificently efficient in the methods they chose for arriving at that uniformity, but they were obviously wrong about the sort of purpose and well-being which was most desirable. Instead of a wide-ranging national consciousness of "many-sided" interests, consistent with international peace, they produced a narrow national mind obsessed with a low purpose.

"The conception of education as a drill," writes Mr. Bertrand Russell in his *Principles of Social Reconstruction*, "as a form of producing unanimity through slavishness is very common, and is defended on the

ground that it leads to victory. Those who enjoy parallels from ancient history will point to the victory of Sparta over Athens to enforce their moral. But it is Athens that has had power over men's thoughts and imagination, not Sparta : any one of us, if we could be born again into some past epoch, would rather be born an Athenian than a Spartan."

In the latest instance, world convulsing in its gigantic proportions, of the struggle between freedom and State control of individuality, the latter was defeated, and this happy consequence has deepened and strengthened the popular British belief in the creed of individualism, and temporarily blinded us to the existence and importance of the manifold forms and functions of corporate life. Both ideas, however, are equally unsatisfactory, considered by themselves, and their enrichment and final synthesis are inevitable.[1]

The thesis which we shall maintain in this volume is that individuality and sociality[2] are the two indestructible elements of life out of the fusion of which all progress comes ; and we hold that education is the process by which man is taught or otherwise learns spontaneously to refine, control and satisfy his egoistic impulses and desires in such a way that his conduct makes for the social as well as his own individual development and well-being.

So believing, we shall endeavour to keep our point

[1] The new sociology promises to unite English individualism, French regionalism, German nationalism and Eastern universalism as a single philosophy.

[2] For the concrete elements uniting these generalised conceptions see B. Branford : *A New Chapter in the Science of Government* (Chatto & Windus, 1919) ; especially §§ 34, 35.

of view a consistent one. The practical teacher, in the past, has too often adopted methods and expressed opinions which in themselves were admirable, but were, unfortunately, mutually destructive, because they were severally based on the principles of fundamentally opposed philosophies. The philosopher has his defects as well; he is apt to keep his point of view consistent, but he drifts too frequently into a lifeless formalism and shows a lamentable lack of practicality whenever concrete common-sense is urgently called for. It will be our endeavour to combine philosophy and common sense, theory and practice, as felicitously as it is possible to combine them. Our readers who are practical teachers must be patient with us in our frequent theorising; the general philosophic reader must bear with us if we apply our philosophy a little crudely at times; while both must agree to consider the needs of life as paramount when these threaten the constancy of their well-considered attitudes towards the problems of education.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION AND THE COMMUNITY

§ I

THE fundamental belief on which the social science of the nineteenth century was based, the belief that *all* our activities are motived by the desire for personal pleasure, or the avoidance of pain, has now been shown to be without a rational foundation.[1] Our actions are, it is true, frequently self-regarding, and may be aptly described as designed to secure our personal pleasure or happiness, but just as often they cannot adequately be so described. The mother who fights for the safety of her children is not motived by the desire for personal pleasure or happiness, but acts as she does because it is her nature to do so. And when similarly analysed, too, our impulses are seen to arise as often under social compulsion as under self-compulsion: the impulse to act conventionally at the dictates of social necessity is as equally ingrained as the impulse to eat and drink. Customs and usages, traditions and social standards are co-eval with individual rights: it is futile to seek to establish the priority either of the one or of the other.

"The *ego* and the *alter*," says Baldwin in his *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, "are born together. . . .

[1] See, for example, *Introduction to Social Psychology* (Wm. McDougall).

My sense of myself grows by imitation of you, and my sense of yourself grows in terms of my sense of myself." Social consciousness and self-consciousness, then, are co-original, and the best methods of education take cognisance of this fact, and accordingly aim at securing a sane and balanced development of each. So we may say that though the self-regarding sentiment which expresses itself in the competitive struggle for individual survival is natural and to some extent even beneficial, equally natural and beneficial are co-operation and self-sacrifice, and in the interests of healthy development we should strive not for the supremacy of one or the other, but for the harmony of these apparently conflicting but really complementary tendencies.

The interpretation of the doctrines of Natural Right and the Social Contract according to which we must believe that society consisted originally of men and women who created community by a voluntary agreement, giving up their natural right to undisturbed freedom in exchange for the enjoyments of social life and organisation, implies that the individual tendencies precede the social tendencies in historical development, but, as we have said, no substantial ground of fact exists for this superficial interpretation; indeed, certain salient facts reveal the one-sidedness of such doctrines.

At no moment of evolution has man lived alone, but always in community. Human society, strictly and scientifically speaking, has in the course of evolution developed from animal association. Animals live together through the compulsion of much the same instincts as operate in human society. It is man's greater intellectual endowment which

has made human society so infinitely more complex and more intimately and profoundly integrating than animal association.

The most primitive form of human society appears to have originated in a nucleus of blood-kinship. In the case of the Rock Veddahs of Ceylon, a primitive people, the circle of social life is decidedly small: beyond the limits of the "family" or clan there is no social life. In the small community there is a common life because there is a common purpose which affection and care of offspring and the need of security have created. Indeed, those groups in the past which did not possess these qualities found themselves under great disadvantages in the struggle for survival, and were displaced by rivals in whom the qualities making for unity were more pronounced. Here, indeed, we see clearly *co-operation* as an essential factor in the human struggle for existence. The clan or joint household grew up in time into the village community, and it is easy to guess at the nature of its subsequent growth in size and complexity.

But throughout history there has existed one group of the greatest importance, educationally; and it has persisted in a form comparatively unaltered through the ages. It is the spontaneously developed play-group of children. Admirably it has served its purpose, and has quietly compensated for many of the mistakes of educators who have neglected the proper employment and culture of the social instincts. The play-group was originally just part of the family, for the family of matriarchal and patriarchal times was large enough to supply playmates of a variety of ages and interests. In the play-

group the child learns to be a self-reliant centre of activity, and discovers the most satisfactory and most economical methods of adjusting his needs and ambitions to the demands made upon him by his playmates. If he grows up normally he is able to pass out of the play-group into the more complex groups of the world at large to act there a worthy adult part, strengthened and inspired by the spirit of the play-group—the team spirit—which was so abundantly poured out into expression through him in the form of loyalty, honour and fair-play. No one will deny that many of our most valuable lessons are learnt in the play-group, and it is to the abiding renown of the English schoolmaster that he has fostered its life within his schools. For the vitality of family and neighbourhood, of club and church, of city and community, is fundamentally conditioned by his efforts in stimulating healthy group life in the schools.

General Rawlinson recently said, in addressing the boys of Eton, what was merely a variant of the old tag, which no one to-day bothers to analyse, that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of this historic school. He said that he had had two characteristics instilled into his mind while at school—the first was to play the game, and the second was the habit of discipline. There was no room, he declared, in the polo, cricket or football team for the jealous, selfish player, nor was there on the field of battle.

It must be said that in spite of the triteness of such remarks in public life they are still novel in educational treatises. One looks in vain for this type of sentiment in the educational text-books of the individualists. What is more common is the atti-

tude expressed, for example, by a certain foreign professor of hygiene, a year or so ago, who fell to praising our national game of football for quite different reasons, sound as they were. Football, he said, strengthens the heart and lungs which suffer most from sedentary life and narrow city dwellings. It brings the whole body into play without straining any one member or faculty, and gives the players' bodies resistance against external affections, especially at the worst climatic period of the year. So one might speak without change of category of an occasional run on a frosty day as being good for the efficiency of a petrol engine.

Each of the views quoted above is the view of a specialist who looks to a wide-embracing process to end in a single specific result. In the practice of education, the educator has too often, in the same manner, looked for specific results to follow *his* general practice. He has, maybe, treated education merely as a process for sharpening the wits, and has praised and imitated the system which produced the sharpest of sharp wits. It remains still to be shown that the intellectual education of the schools, like football and the Eton tradition, both individualises and socialises.

The activities of the play-group, be it noted, are not always marked by harmony. Self-assertion and rivalry are always present, sometimes at high pressure, but they are passions which can be subdued and moulded through sympathy and the discipline of a common life. When there is an organised common life it is still possible for the individual to seek personal advantages and indulge private ambitions, but the honour of being a respected member

of the group will usually count for more than other lesser and more selfish considerations he may harbour. He will still be eager to compete for " a place in the sun " at the expense of his rivals, but he will be satisfied when unsuccessful in knowing that the group as a whole has a worthy place there; he will be content to shine in its reflected glory. This implies no condemnation of rivalry. In fact, educators who attempt to work without the help of the innate impulse of rivalry are losing the chance, as we shall later on show, of calling in what can be one of their most valuable allies.

The influences of the family and the play-group are operative in the most impressionable periods of life, and no one will deny that on the whole they are wonderfully beneficial in making for a healthy, unified and many-sided national life. The fact, however, that in all groups the majority may become tyrannical and impose its will unjustly and unsympathetically upon the weak, makes it all the more imperative that the group should be educated to the sense of its responsibilities while it is a part of the school and can be so educated. It is, indeed, possible to merge the natural group into the class and the school so that the latter can be equally serviceable in promoting both individuality and social solidarity through a healthy rivalry in common pursuits.

We look forward not far into the future to the time when the school will combine the merits of the family and the play-group, which originally was a part of it, when boys and girls will not only be willing and spontaneous co-operators in the activities of their educational group, but will consider it a form of courage to suffer for the sake of the school

what they have always gladly suffered for the sake of the family and the play-group. In short, the school and the class will develop only in so far as activities are based upon the natural tendencies which are so vigorous in the family and the play-group. For the play-group and the family between them have been the originating and energising centres of all the ideals that have ever moved men and women to tasks of lofty worth. The ideal of fair play or justice, for example, cannot be conceived as having come mysteriously into existence in fully developed perfection. It has grown up during the ages, under the fostering care of the family and its play-group. This conception of equal and sympathetic consideration for all represents, perhaps, the peak of human culture.

> "The Cæsars and the Alexanders pass,
> Whilst he that drank the hemlock, he that drank
> The Cup more dread on Calvary's hill, remain,
> Servants and mighty conquerors of the world.
> The great achievement of the human mind
> Is the idea of Justice. More than arts
> And sciences, than faith and rituals, this
> Lifts all our life above the life of beasts." [1]

§ 2

There is a certain ill-organised and capriciously-governed school in a slum neighbourhood well known to the writer from which there may be seen to issue into the streets at a certain time every afternoon swarms of riotously-inclined boys who, in an alarmingly short space of time, reproduce a medley of the wranglings of Babel and the noises of the jungle. Next morning, at the hour of re-entry into

[1] Lines to Lord Bryce in *For England* (Sir W. Watson).

school, the same boys exhibit the milder behaviour of the ordinary civilised citizen. The previous tumult had merely expressed their violent reaction from the unnatural repression of their modern house of bondage, in which they had been incarcerated for too long a period.

The whole civilised world to-day has just been released from the hard schooling of an agonising war, and we are witnessing a world-wide breaking loose from the tyranny of restraint. Now that the immediate dangers are past, men and women, irritated and thwarted at every turn for over four long years, and at the same time subjected to the most exacting demands for more and still more self-sacrifice, and greater and still greater devotion to duty, are momentarily taking their eyes off the far-off goals endeared by ages of human effort, and giving themselves up recklessly to the mood of the hour. Long-range reflection is giving way to short-range emotion as the trusted guide to conduct. We have exchanged the wide-sweeping swallow flights of easeful meditation for the teasing, buzzing, worrying dominance of the dancing ephemeral senses. The old controls which were exercised over our instinctive reactions have ceased to operate, and the stern economic urge no longer suffices to keep us, day after day, at the same humdrum mechanical tasks. A hand-to-mouth philosophy of Immediacy has taken hold of us; for the moment we are content.

In such times as these, says the pessimist, we may learn exactly what man is: the merest veneer of make-believe covers but does not conceal his animality; and, given any marked disturbance of routine, that animality will always break through

into expression. Yet man, surely, is made neither for a life of continuous routine nor for a life of passion. With a hoary tradition of social culture and ideal effort behind him he cannot, with naturalness and success, live for any length of time on the plane of passion, any more than he can live continuously on the plane of mechanical routine. When there is no other possibility he will oscillate violently from one plane to the other, never content for more than a brief moment on either. It is the business of the statesman and the educator to see that the alternative to each of these types of behaviour is present: to provide the means, that is, for a balanced, healthy, rational life of "many-sided interest," which will exploit and transmute the subhuman tendencies profitably and naturally.

It is becoming hourly more apparent that, in the reconstruction of society of our world upon a sure and permanent basis, education must play its part. Reconstruction is not going to be an affair merely of the rearrangement by bureaucrats of a limited number of clean-cut and perfectly tangible elements, such as money, food, clothes and houses. The economist's fallacy, that human life vibrates, sympathetically and strongly, principally to the ringing call of gold and silver, is beginning to be seen as a fallacy by every one. There are equally strong spiritual cravings in man which must find expression, or else when they can no longer be contained society will be shattered in their outburst. The education, therefore, of which we are in need to-day, for reconstruction purposes, is an education which can deal with the springs of action at their source. In the first flush of enthusiasm the pioneers

of free education in the nineteenth century believed that for the regeneration of society any kind of knowledge was better than no knowledge at all. Consequently, such knowledge as that which teaches us how a candle burns was doled out with as much hope and enthusiasm as the knowledge of good and evil. But knowledge is only good in so far as it enables us to desire and secure the things which make for the health and sanity of all. We must look to education as the instrument for invigorating private and public life in all its manifold manifestations; indeed, it is the supreme psychological factor which counts for most in the creation and the re-creation and development of our ideals of achievement. On education we must depend for the means with which we are to replace in the aspirations of the people the desire for mere leisure, undedicated and undistinguished, by the unsleeping motive of service. It is not by denunciation but by example and encouragement and explanation that we shall raise the level of the recreations of the community so that they represent the attempt neither to hide from life in the warm, soft retreats of romance nor to escape it through the intoxications of delirious pleasure.

When we say, then, that in the reconstruction of society education must play an important part, we do not mean to suggest merely that the multiplication table and the rules of grammar will stabilise the national life and harmonise the interests of the warring classes: it is rather that kind of education representative of our best cultural traditions to unify and energise each and all of us which we need so much at the present moment. For it has long been

felt that the modern nation is not a community in any true sense of the word, inasmuch as its people lack as a whole any enduring singleness of purpose : in fact, they have nothing in common, spiritually, which has the power to integrate their endeavours. The attempts which have been made from time to time to bind nations into unity of spirit in the bonds of social service have rarely been more than momentarily successful, because they have been made, either on the one hand, in the short-sighted manner of the drill-sergeant—which it pleases us immensely to call Prussian—so that an artificial and mechanical unity has been externally produced which has no chance of winning permanence for itself among human beings who prize self-reliance and full-blooded initiative; or, on the other hand, the unity effected, though organic and produced from within, and therefore resulting in the bringing together of the manifold and diverse elements into an indivisible and living whole, has, nevertheless, been of mushroom duration only, and has not been able to survive the peril and excitement—generally of war—in which it has so wonderfully come to maturity.

Many years ago William James wrote a stimulating and suggestive essay upon the need of a moral equivalent for war, which should provide us with the undeniable advantages of the latter without its disastrous disadvantages in barbaric bodily conflict, thus strengthening and hardening the fibre of the young men who are fated to grow up in the easy days of a long peace when heroic memories begin to lose their vital quality and thrill. In an eloquent passage he calls for a conscription of the manhood of the race in a crusade against the blind brute forces

of Nature: this crusade was his equivalent. But the need of an education which can be a moral equivalent for war is just as obviously urgent to-day when we have been experiencing the real thing, though not now for the reason that stalwart individuality calls for it: we need at the present moment, when the perishable unity created by the Great War is fast dissolving, that abiding unity among us which the moral equivalent, if it is to be a complete substitute for war, will alone be able to secure. For we have learnt that the nations which rely principally upon war as an agency for effecting solidarity fall into decadence when they cease to fight: skilled and thrilled in the arts of *destruction*, they are not yet eager enough to turn from war to take up as a common task the much more difficult arts of peace and *construction*. Yet as in the child destructive activity commonly results in the gain of analytic insight into the nature of things, and therefore is, after all, a useful prelude to synthetic creative activity, so let us hope that humanity, too, will rise to a beneficent use of its dearly purchased experience in the Great World War.

To those who are not usually concerned about social purposes, those practical hard-headed men who believe that unity in the State may co-exist with a diversity of conflicting private interests; that the conditions most favourable to progress and prosperity are present when each man strives to satisfy his own more selfish desires, and in so striving is stimulated by the competition of his fellow-countrymen who are seeking by similar means to satisfy similar desires; that where there is a sharp division of interests, there character, initiative and

ability find free and full expression, so that greater vigour and efficiency result, and society gains thereby enormously—to such folk we must always be forced to reply that experience has shown struggle within the community, while beneficial in many ways, to be of a very limited value only, and that when the individual desires and ambitions aroused do not find expression through service to the city, region or community, through club, church or party, then the stability of society is likely to be seriously disturbed, and the traditions and culture for which it stands gravely jeopardised. For deeper than these conflicting individual interests exists the fundamental social interest in unity and security, which we forget at our peril. Civilisations before our own have perished, and through disintegration from within. So that education from the civic and national standpoint exists for the production of good citizens who have a common interest in increasing the national welfare as well as their individual well being : individualism in blinkers as our guide will lead to certain destruction.

By some means or other, then, pill-making and coal-mining, and all the other trades and occupations have to be made consistent with social health and progress, for social health and progress are of more importance than business efficiency with its cheap wares, or commercial prosperity with its big profits. And more and more is the statesman finding that he must look to education to restore society to health and sanity, to destroy irrational and mischievous suspicions, to give the individual long views, and to bridge the ever-widening gulf between the classes. More and more is the social philosopher

to-day inclined to regard with scepticism and mistrust as a charlatan the man who comes forward with a social remedy of the get-well-quickly variety. The political apothecaries brawl about us with their pills and plasters for our organic disorders; they show us, sometimes engagingly, sometimes threateningly, the latest thing in perfumed ointments for the sores of society. But we need the royal physician himself to point out the nature of our disease, and indicate to us the road to health. And the royal physician is education. In the past there has been a lack of faith in its power. The man of the world has despised the education of the schools and the universities on account of its failure either to mould character or produce inventive brains. The schools often lack, it is true, the intensity and electric vitality which course through the business life of the community. But, to-day, the Englishman of the world sees quite clearly that the supremacy of his people is threatened in the markets of the world for the very reason that the type of brains and of personality which he himself represents is, in spite of all its practicability, unable to match the results of the highly technical and patient research of other nations who have with more wide-awake common sense encouraged and made greater demands upon the schools and universities instead of scoffing at them.[1] On continous cross-fertilisation between the schools on the one hand, and commerce, industry and agriculture on the other, must we depend for the vitality of the seeds of our future progress.

[1] An excellent illustration is afforded by Denmark in its admirable agricultural education.

CHAPTER III

THE MANY-SIDED EDUCATIONAL IDEAL

The widely-extended use of the scientific method has greatly increased the pace and ease of man's attempt to bring Nature under his control for the sake of civilisation and culture. His progress so far, however, with his new device may be likened to that of the novice who has just taken up the practice of cycling. When he becomes thoroughly expert his progress will be an uninterrupted movement towards his goal. But at present, especially with regard to his advance in the social sciences, and, therefore, in education, he is still preoccupied with the initial difficulties of the learner. He cannot find the pedals, or he is running in a rut which he cannot leave, or he is wobbling from one side of the road to the other, or his attention is so taken up with immediate obstacles that he cannot see where he is actually going, or he is thinking too much of his balance and too little of his steering, or vice versa, or, may be, he is over-anxious as to whether he will be finally able to get off safely.

Complete analogies for all these preoccupations can be found in the history of education. In the first flush of enthusiasm over the discovery of a new aspect of their subject, its devotees have attended to it with such rapture and whole-hearted concentration as to become entirely forgetful of other

equally important aspects. There has been till recently no steady attempt to focus the whole complex phenomenon in one wide-ranging glance.

One prophet, for example, is convinced that all our educational difficulties will be solved if we adopt a new method of instruction, and another is convinced that what is needed is a new content of instruction; and so we have a voice from America telling us that the whole educational world will be saved if it takes up active occupations with zeal, while a voice from Italy is half persuading us that the child should be left entirely alone to work out his own salvation in his own way. Or, again, we have the view expressed that all is wrong because the teacher is badly paid or badly trained, or both, while another view is put forward which implies that what is wrong is the bureaucratic method of organising education. And so a thousand different voices tell us a thousand different tales, and because the need for action is so insistent we act with precipitancy to-day along the lines of one suggestion, only to find to-morrow that it does not bring us nearer the realisation of our hopes; whereupon we forsake it for another which is equally illusory. Thus we take up one solution to our difficulties, and drop it immediately in favour of another, like a restive child among his toys. In this way we oscillate from one extreme of method to another and never preserve any lasting equilibrium of steady movement. In politics we speak of the "swing of the pendulum" in this connection, to describe the oscillation of the social mind between opposite and extreme opinions, neither of which represents balanced judgment.

In ancient Sparta the mind of the community was preoccupied with the thought of salvation through physical culture, which was ruthlessly and exclusively sought after to the detriment of mental culture and a higher type of civilisation. During the earlier decades of the industrial era, our own nation became so obsessed with the desire for material prosperity, that economic interests alone were too often pursued by men to the severe injury of health of mind and body: and free play of the social mind over the whole province of social interests seemed impossible. At the time of the Civil War in America the social mind there developed, if we may say so, a "double personality," the economic and moral interests splitting apart and functioning separately.

To-day we realise that both economic prosperity and physical efficiency are valuable, but that they will not completely satisfy our many-sided being; they are merely instrumental for the achievement of spiritual unity and prosperity. For it is true that when life was most vigorous in the golden times of Athens, Florence, Venice and Elizabethan England, it was pre-eminently a many-sided life, so that art, science, religion and commerce all flourished together. When, on the other hand, disaster has fallen on a people, it has often been because of a lack of such unity in diversity.

In education, then, let us make sure that our ideals are based on a wide philosophic grasp of the completest truth attainable. We need to keep a steady view of the fundamental realities, so that we do not allow ourselves to be led astray by every new enthusiasm regardless of its sanity.

Distorted views of the problems of education are natural enough. They arise from the ineradicable tendency of men to see all that concerns life through the lenses of their own finite personalities. Man rarely, if ever, expresses through his ideas or conduct a harmony of all the branches or types of culture. Just as in the early days of his childhood he specialises in right-handedness or left-handedness for the sake of greater manipulative dexterity, so in the early days of adolescence he finds that he can best develop his latent powers and aptitudes, and best secure the satisfaction of his needs, through some one particular art or craft or study. He becomes an engineer, or a professional man, a skilled artisan or a business man, a clerk or a factory-worker. Thereafter, he is apt to believe that the things which are of the most significance for him individually must be of the same significance for every one, that the kind of education which he needs for his particular purpose is the type which all need. Place a grocer, a clerk, a carpenter and a tailor on a local education council and you will discover that the grocer will tend to think it his sole duty to see that the children he represents can deal in a familiar manner with all kinds of calculations concerning pounds, shillings and pence, ounces and half-ounces, gallons and pints. The clerk will tend to judge the work of the teacher solely by the neatness and system displayed in the written exercises of the children, while the carpenter will declare nothing to be so important as that the children should learn to be handy with tools. The tailor will declare, moreover, that the defects of education are due to the fact that the children are ill at ease in body because badly clothed. The attitudes they

represent are important, but no single one is all-important.

The worst thing that can happen to education in this time of extreme specialisation is that it should fall entirely into the hands of the specialists, to be a bone of contention among them. Education must reflect the life of society in every essential aspect, and no one aspect must become pre-eminent. Occasionally, in the past, as we have said, one aspect of the whole has caught the attention of the educational world, and the attempt to keep it in view has become the exclusive preoccupation of the schools. The result has been that in the over-anxious effort to keep in touch with the educational fashion of the hour a subject has been taught under circumstances which have rendered the teaching of it worse than useless. Thus, nature-study has frequently been taught, and illustrated by an occasional withered specimen from the great green world, to children in the abysses of a large city, while the mechanical sciences which could have been illustrated in exhaustive detail concretely and vividly from everyday life have been neglected, because in this case, science on the table meant nature-study; that is, nature-study was the enthusiasm of the hour.

The wider philosophic view of the function of education secures the approval of impartial common sense, but the narrow-minded men of the world, by virtue of their greater intensity of energy and vision, mould curricula to serve their needs. Man, however, is more than a functionary, and it must not become the duty of teachers to make a race of factory-hands or ledger clerks or salesmen. Education must provide for us all those compensating influences

which will keep us sane and well balanced when the needs of life demand a rigid and over-accentuated specialisation. We must be on our guard against the enthusiasm of the specialist and the fanaticism of the crank.

For there are fervid hot-gospellers among us who preach the glad tidings concerning their wonderful educational ideas with such conviction and apparent success that we are apt to forget that after all they are in truth just simply the direct spiritual descendants of Don Quixote who, seeing in an ecstatic moment that the disorders of society arose from nothing else than its neglect to keep alive the spirit of Knight-errantry, set out valiantly after due preparation to restore the world through personal example to sanity and saintliness once again. (It will, we hope, be noted by the observant reader of the adventures of Don Quixote that it was poor, despised Sancho Panza with no qualities to recommend him beyond his ordinary common sense who so often got the Knight out of his worst predicaments.)

Now Don Quixote was no lunatic: on the contrary, he merely suffered—rather badly, it is true, but to the wide world's benefit—from a delusion; so that when the subject of his delusion, Knight-errantry, bore no relation to the theme of his discourse, he displayed the greatest vivacity of wit, and shrewdness and reliability of judgment. Yet unfortunately for his own ease and safety, when the spirit of Knight-errantry entered into him, he began to prophesy, and all that he saw became changed: every inn became a castle, windmills were recognised and attacked as giants, while on one occasion

a barber's metal bowl, worn on the head of its owner to protect him from the heat of the noon-day sun, became Mambrino's helmet, and shone from afar with all the glory of the golden age of chivalry and romance.

We have our Don Quixotes among us to-day, and we imagine because they are professors and inspectors and respectable men generally, that they must be free from delusions. Moreover, it seems to be the fate, unfortunately, of this type of partial solution to our educational problems—the solution which has originated in an unanalysed conviction or enthusiasm—that it should always attract to its support among others the attentions of all those who are not quite normal, just as the patent medicine which is declared by its makers to be a cure-all for every human ill attracts the attention and support of all the over-suggestible weaklings in our midst who are unable to resist the wiles of the advertising quack.

Still, the best educational theory will make its strongest appeal to those who are sanest and most thoughtful. If on every side we find barriers raised against the normal satisfaction of our deeper desires, and the commoner substitutes for their healthy expression—feverish sport, the obsession of money-making, and excessive drinking—bring no enduring happiness, education must point the way to real joy. Inasmuch, therefore, as those elements of the industrial and economic systems which spring from unlimited competition with its unbalanced division of labour, its inability to awaken the higher interests, and its too-frequent soul-destroying tendencies is responsible to-day for so many of our spiritual ills,

education must aim at a deeper comprehension of life and of the true function of the economic instincts in the development of man's welfare, alike social and individual.

"Note how men slink to their work," says Dr. Carl Jung. "Watch their faces at an early morning hour in the tramcars. One of them makes little wheels, and another writes trivial things which do not interest him. What wonder is it that such men belong to as many clubs as there are days in the week, that among women little societies flourish where they pour out on some particular hero or cause those unsatisfied desires which the man dulls at his restaurant or club, imbibing beer and playing at being important?" [1]

When we consider such facts how eager we are to accept the undiluted gospel of self-realisation. We acclaim the educational ideal of the Renaissance: "the complete flowering of the pupil as an individuality." We turn a ready ear to Emerson, for example, when he declares that "society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members"; that "no law can be sacred to me," as he says, "but that of my own nature." "*La nature les fit; les institutions les gâtent*," wrote Rousseau in the same spirit. But in our support of the principle of self-realisation we must not cut ourselves adrift from the corporate life of the community and the trend of the age. That is as false an extreme of action as is Prussianism in politics.

In his brilliant and remarkable book, *What is and What Might Be*, Mr. Edmond Holmes exemplifies this tendency, of which we have spoken, to recoil

[1] *Analytical Psychology.*

from a false extreme with such violence as to be carried unconsciously to the opposite extreme. His irresistible attack upon the old educational system which we knew in our childhood has no doubt been studied by every teacher interested in his vocation. The book charms us by its very defects. It is written in the true melodramatic vein; the lights are heightened and the shadows deepened; the villains are all double-dyed, and the heroine and her children are as pure and undefiled as fresh-fallen snow.

In his educational Utopia there is no need for punishments and no need for rewards. "The Utopian child is entirely incapable of cant." "No child has the slightest desire to outstrip his fellow or rise to the top of his class." All is flawless joy under a cloudless sky. But the contrast between the old and the new in Mr. Holmes's picture is obviously overdone, and is in the manner of the unphilosophic writer who thinks that if one extreme is wrong, the other must be right. This being so, the formulæ for progress are very simple and straightforward, and run somewhat as follows: The old education was material; the new must be spiritual. The old practice was based on the doctrine of original sin; the new view must be that it is not evil but good which is original. The examination system and its correlate the award and punishment practice, were thoroughly bad; therefore, we must have neither examinations nor punishments and awards. The old education enjoined mechanical obedience; the new must put its trust in vital obedience to the laws of one's own being. In the past there was practically no opportunity for self-expression; now there shall be no self-repression.

All this comes from too close an attention to the literal meaning of the word "education," and from the uncritical acceptance of the plant-analogy which has become so familiar in educational literature. To educate means, literally, "to draw out," and the implication intended by those who employ the plant-metaphor in education is that the possibility of human perfection lies mysteriously wrapped up in the inner nature of the child and awaits only the opportunity to unfold itself like a flower. (Mr. G. K. Chesterton once asked in his mocking manner if long-division could be "drawn out" of the child before its demonstration to him.)

The metaphor of the child-plant—with the potentiality of complete development wrapped up within it—occurs over and over again in the writings of the school which Mr. Holmes represents. Certainly, children do grow like plants, and it is the duty of the teacher to see that all the essential conditions for growth are present. The plant, however, which comes to its fullest maturity must grow apart from too close contact with other plants, or otherwise, in its struggle for sun, air and moisture it will not grow to the best advantage.

The trees which grow in close contact in the gloom of the forest may be filled with the spirit of original goodness when they first begin to put forth their leaves, but they cannot all express it precisely as they would like, just as the children who grow up together cannot all insist on full freedom; the teacher must see that no single one unduly interferes with the growth of another. If we are to have the plant metaphor still, let us allow the teacher as gardener here to prune and there to

pluck off the withered bud, as common sense would dictate.

Fortunately, the practice of Mr. Holmes's heroine, Egeria, whom he extols as the model teacher, is better than her master's theory. She certainly does not believe in unrestricted freedom for the child, any more than she believes in bridled restraint. She educates her children by combining freedom and guidance, and this is a fact curiously unnoticed by Mr. Holmes. The old system bound its pupils in the shackles of fear and hatred. Egeria does not let her pupils go shackle-less; she binds them, too, but it is in the shackles of love.

It would be useful occasionally to employ the uglier word "pedagogy" in order that we might be reminded that there is another aspect to our subject. The word "pedagogy" points to the necessity for the active assistance of others in the process of education; it reminds us that the child may not spontaneously seek the light like a plant, and so it will be wise to lead him by the hand towards it. "Pedagogy" was originally not merely the leading of the child just to school and back, but about the streets too, so that the life of the city-community in all its aspects could be made intelligible to him.

When all has been said that can be said in favour of the view which reveals education as the process by which all the general powers and specific aptitudes of the individual are excited to the highest pitch of harmonious development, it cannot be too strongly urged that education is not only this but more. It is also the process by which the children of the race are introduced into their social inheritance—that rich endowment of culture and tradi-

tion, of ideals of life and citizenship—which counts more than heredity of the physical kind as a factor in civilisation. The nation can no longer afford to let its children grow up to manhood and womanhood except in conditions, physical and psychical, which will ensure their becoming good citizens as well as effective individuals. The young human plant—to employ our familiar educational metaphor—not only *should not* but *cannot* be allowed to grow up just as " nature " decrees ; it *must* be pruned and guided as the necessities and circumstances of the social life dictate. Personality is invaluable ; but the best men and women will be willing to realise it only in the service of those ideals of beauty, truth and goodness which are the very breath of the higher life as it exists in all of us. If there were nothing so sacred as the finite human personality, then it would be the height of folly ever to sacrifice it : " conscientious objection " to self-sacrifice for the common good would *always* be justified ; as it is, we all consider it to be the right thing both to praise and to urge self-sacrifice under certain circumstances, and this implies that we do not consider that in all circumstances our own finite human personality is the one thing that matters. The interest of the larger group and the continuance of the social tradition, are, in the times of crisis, of greater importance than the continuance of our several particular lives. No man can consider with any pleasure a community of human beings each intent solely on his own self-realisation. We would rather think of them as living for some cause greater than themselves, and, indeed, Milton's picture in " Areopagitica " has the power of indicating the life of greater charm.

"Behold now this vast City: a city of Refuge and mansion house of liberty, encompast and surrounded with God's protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation, others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement."

To sum up, then; education is a social process. It is through society alone, in its manifold forms, that the child can adequately realise his potentialities.

But, teacher and class, individual and society, instruction and education—each member of these pairs depends upon the other for its full efficiency and expression: all are but elements in a larger complex. Rarely have they all been emphasised at the same time by the educationist. The history of educational theory is the history of successive and disconnected movements of attention outward along the radii of a single circle of interest. It is now time that we held all the six elements together at the centre as an inseparable whole.

CHAPTER IV

THE REACTION AGAINST CLASS TEACHING

SINCE the evil genius of the Industrial Revolution first began to fasten its tentacles upon the expanding life of modern nations subordinating it everywhere to machinery, the tendency towards the division of labour for the sake of greater and cheaper production has steadily gathered force and speed. Education among other things has become cheapened in the process, and, everywhere, parents whose energies have been swallowed up in the whirlpool of industrialism have shown themselves only too glad to be relieved of the duty of educating their children—a duty which they have found it impossible to fulfil through lack of means, or of inclination, or of ability—to teachers trained specially for the task. The problem of primary education has become a national problem, and national supervision has been rendered necessary, if for no other reason than that national expenditure is being involved to a steadily increasing extent.

The greatness and complexity of the work of supervision and control has unfortunately proved too much for us, however, for it is extremely difficult at the present moment of our civilisation, owing to our common lack of the highest skill, to deal with large masses of living beings save at the expense of handling the problem as one demanding merely the

mechanical regulation of the separate units. It would certainly seem that the present centralised control of primary education is subject to the grave danger of tempting directors and administrators to regard themselves as super-traffic-managers appointed to see that children move at a uniform rate through the schools and pass off automatically into the labour market without causing any congestion on the way. Such successful marketing of the products of the system calls for a certain neglect of the perishable psychic quality of the goods themselves; that, however, is unavoidable, and is its only drawback.

Until we can learn the method of organising and of humanising instead of mechanising such large masses of children, it would seem to be wise to limit our control to smaller groups which are more easily manageable because the units can be known intimately as living purposive creatures. As it is, there is a widespread and uneasy feeling that to-day we have in our educational system far too much of the uniformity of a vast *machine* running smoothly and almost without noise or friction, manufacturing with unerring certainty, both in the case of the teachers and the pupils, genius into ability, ability into unapplied knowledge, and unapplied knowledge into scrap-book information, all because the human elements are regarded as uniformly efficient, and durable and steady in their way as the piston and bearings of a high-power engine. Do not the men who control the machine unconsciously give overmuch weight to their too perfectly defined precedents? And do they not frequently forget that human nature differs from piston-rods and bearings in giving way ever so much sooner under the

monotony of mechanical pressure? There would seem to be too little indication as yet that they regard it as a final impossibility that children can be turned into faultless automata.

The teachers in our schools find themselves in uncomfortably close contact with the problem of educational organisation almost daily. They are given large classes to teach, but are expected before they begin their work to "get these classes into order"; that is, to enforce mechanical obedience through the stentorian reiteration of deadening formulæ, such as "Sit still," "Don't talk," "Hold your head up"; and the like. Is it surprising that so many teachers are in revolt, as a consequence, against the class system?

They have been trained to instruct the individual and have never wholly been at ease in dealing with what they cannot but regard as large, unmanageable masses of children thrown together in circumstances which preclude the possibility of free play and natural expression for each distinct personality. Though they chafe, too, under other restrictions that prevent them from attending to the ideal of the separate self-realisation of their pupils, we believe that teachers find in the class system, as we know it to-day, the principal menace that threatens to strangle individuality before it can assert its right to autonomous development.

John Locke was one of the earliest critics of the modern class system of education. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, he wrote: "Let the master's industry and skill be never so much, it is impossible he should have fifty or a hundred scholars under his eye any longer than they are in

school together, nor can it be expected that he should instruct them successfully in anything but their books; the forming of their mind and manners requiring a constant attention and particular application to every single boy which is impossible in a numerous flock."

Mr. Edmond Holmes, with his extremely wide knowledge of the English elementary school system supporting him, wishes us to believe, however, that the teachers aim deliberately from free choice at the undesirable mechanisation of the child. "The aim of his teachers," he writes in *What Is and What Might Be*, "is to leave nothing to his (the child's) nature, nothing to his spontaneous life, nothing to his free activity; to repress all his natural impulses; to drill his energies into complete quiescence; to keep his whole being in a state of sustained and painful tension. And in order that we may see a meaning and a rational purpose in his *régime* of oppressive interference, we must assume that its ultimate aim is to turn the child into an animated puppet, who, having lost his capacity for vital activity, will be ready to dance, or rather go through a series of jerky movements, in response to the strings which his teacher pulls."

We are convinced that our picture of the teachers as the victims rather than the perpetrators of the system is the truer one. The most exacting of all forms of work is that which calls for close and continuous attention to the expressions and movements of other living beings, and involves responsibility for their suitability and propriety.

In attending to inanimate things, one may perhaps indulge in frequent lapses of concentration, but

in attending to children the engagements of one's consciousness are fully booked up in advance. Now, it is a universal law of human nature, insufficiently realised as yet, that in the face of difficulty we all experience the tendency to revert to an easier way of life. The introvert, for example, that type of individual who nurses an inner self to which he resorts habitually when the cares of the outer world infest him, evades his difficulties like a child by weaving for himself ideal fantasies ; he dreams of doing what he cannot do, thereby getting a small measure of shadowy comfort. The extrovert, or the practical hard-headed, comparatively insensitive individual, who must, however, find an outlet for his energies, takes, when the world is too much for him, a short cut to his goal, and uses human beings unscrupulously as tools, excusing himself on the ground that the necessity for his conduct was inevitable. In the end the result is the same in each case : when human beings cannot be organised successfully, they are either neglected, or are treated as mechanisms to be regulated; that is, *their humanity as a calculable factor falls to zero.*

Before, however, the reader comes to the conclusion that the class system to-day is, in the eyes of all humane people, obsolete, and that, therefore, we must gradually individualise all our education, we ask him to give a little further consideration to the problem.

The reaction against the mass-method of teaching may well have gone too far to-day. By mass-teaching very valuable emotional and volitional influences can be set operating which cannot be easily aroused when teacher and pupil together exist in

splendid isolation from others. For example, it has been noticed by teachers and inspectors that where there is no frequent general assembly of all the school for music or devotional purposes, there is a characteristic lack of something vital and purposeful in the school atmosphere.

It is in the group, in the future as in the past, that the child will find the most stimulating environment for his development. There he will receive healthy encouragement and at the same time wholesome opposition to the expression of ill-considered egoism. People, like the father of Richard Feverel,[1] who seek to educate their offspring in jealous seclusion like rare exotic plants, contrive, although they may never realise it, to prevent the very development they aim at fostering. No one who has had experience with boys can possibly doubt the fact that fellowship is as absolutely necessary to them as are fresh air, light and food. In the warm and congenial atmosphere of companionship, ambition, honour, loyalty and sympathy flourish, without which the spirit of youth would be ill-nourished indeed.

What, therefore, seems to be necessary, is not to abolish the class as a unit of instruction but to aim at its reorganisation upon such lines as will give us a substantial union of the advantages of both the individual and the mass-methods of teaching, and secure the benefits of healthy rivalry and self-reliance in place of the self-distrust and lack of worthy ambition brought about by the older mass-methods.

Occasionally we read of a parent appearing before

[1] *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*: Geo. Meredith.

a magistrate on a charge of neglecting to send his child to school, and the defence when successful has taken the form of a proof that the child is not *intellectually* backward. A greengrocer, for example, claimed on one occasion that while his boy was engaged with him in trade, he gained more useful knowledge and had a more varied experience than the normal school child possesses. One rarely, if ever, hears of it being pointed out to such a parent that while he can teach his child much that the school cannot, he cannot teach what the community would have the child taught through the close companionship of his peers and through the school environment, viz., how to live the common life with self-respect and respect for others, with the desire to excel as an individual, and with the desire to strengthen and spiritualise the life both of himself and of his community.

Although it has been apparent for a long time that it is impossible to rear a human child, properly, apart from his fellows, yet we have been content to struggle along the road towards our educational ideal burdened with the class system at its worst, without making a sufficient effort to understand the elementary psychological facts or possibilities of the group-life.

We know what to expect when material units are placed side by side under prearranged conditions; but we have not yet bothered to give our teachers any knowledge of what to expect when either organisms or human creatures are placed together. But " as we learn that man is almost wholly social, and never seen truly except in connection with his

fellows, we fix our attention more and more on group conditions as the source for better or worse of personal character, and come to feel that we must work on the individual through the web of relations in which he actually lives." [1]

We must remember that the great world-movements, though initiated in the deeps of some great personality, have all been developed into majestic influence by the enthusiasm engendered in groups. Mahomet spread his religion in this way; Peter the Hermit thrilled Europe by mass appeals with the desire to go crusading; the Reformation was mainly inspired by group feeling; and John Wesley in founding Wesleyanism appealed to crowds rather than to individuals in his wonderful evangelising campaigns. In a word, great movements demand a great teacher and his school of disciples.

The change which occurs in human beings (and in the higher animals) as a result of their living together is largely due to the operation of the gregarious instincts which manifest themselves through the innate tendencies we all possess to accept the suggestions of others, to vibrate in sympathy with their feelings, and to act in imitation of them. We shall take up this subject in more detail later.

There are, indeed, two distinct and frequently opposed though complementary tendencies to action present in the minds of us all by virtue of our instinctive and intellectual endowments, represented by the tendency to suggestibility, sympathy and imitation on the one hand, and by the tendency to leadership, independence and originality on the

[1] Cooley: *Social Organisation.*

other. That is, the natural man acts both automatically and by reflection.

Obviously, it is essential, in the present stage of evolution, that neither tendency should wholly obliterate the other. A community in which people did not respond to social suggestion readily and without reflection might find itself near the point of disaster on many an occasion before it could rationally grasp its peril. The fundamental method of every child's learning in its early years is by substantially imitative absorption of the thoughts, feelings and actions of others. Speech, for example, does not wait for the development of the power, clearly and consciously, to understand the rules of grammar; such waiting would be fatal to progress: the delicate mechanisms of the throat, and the neural elements in the brain-centre concerned would have lost their responsiveness and plasticity. But, on the other hand, if a child depends always on the behaviour of others for its cues to conduct, it will make very little mental progress, and probably never display any noticeable initiative, or ingenuity, which are the criteria of authentic intelligence.

Most of the ideals, prejudices and habits which children adopt come to them as a result of the functioning of the gregarious instincts. Language, manners, morals and religion are similarly acquired by the child. It is through the operation of suggestibility, sympathy and imitation that the continuance of the traditions and culture of a community is ensured.

The gregarious activities and feelings are the strongest solvents of the hard egoism which is

commonly produced by the solitary life. Humanitarian sentiments and philanthropic agencies spring principally from the feelings of sympathy which only appear under group conditions; indeed, Adam Smith contended that sympathy is the ultimate basis of all moral feeling.

If we decide to throw over the class system entirely, and refuse deliberately to exploit the gregarious instincts in the service of education, we shall be neglecting the most potent agencies which can be utilised for the energising and humanising of the children of the race. And, moreover, in the failure to bring these tendencies under rational control we leave them to be exploited by all the unscrupulous advertisers and quacks of commerce and politics. Children must express in some way or other their innate tendencies to accept suggestions, to feel sympathy and to imitate, and common sense will always point to the need of providing our children with a wide field of choice among worthy examples to imitate, and fertilising channels for the expression of their sympathy, instead of leaving their volitional and emotional development to chance.

Properly viewed and effectively organised the class becomes the miniature of society. We believe that the dominant trend of school reform expresses a movement towards the realisation of this idea. Since the school exists for the purpose of preparing children for adult life, it can perform its work in no better way than by interpreting the life of society through typical concrete illustrations and occupations. Just as in every branch of science, art and industry, the novice does not wait till he has mastered the com-

plete theory of his subjects before he tries his hand at practice, but allows theory and practice to walk hand in hand, so no child who is destined to play a responsible part later as a parent and a citizen in a civilised State should be permitted to leave the primary school before he has learned something of both the theory and the practice of the duties and rights which come through group-membership. The pioneer work of Mr. William George, the founder of the George Junior Republic in America, and of Mr. Homer Lane, the founder of the Little Commonwealth in England,[1] has shown that children can be successfully initiated quite early into the partnership involved in genuine social life, and tackle effectively the problems of organisation and self-government. The results in the stabilisation of character and in the development of the social feelings have been most marked wherever these experiments have been repeated. Without such group-loyalty and group-life the child acquires a " set " in his emotional reactions early in life as a result of much too limited and narrow an experience. Healthy group-life prevents such a premature " set." In the group the habit of reacting at once in a way which has previously been found successful with one or two people is disturbed ; the pupil learns to suspend this habit of immediate unreasoning reaction, and to think a little about the way and means of reaching one's ultimate ends through the decisions of the moment. In this way tendencies to short-sighted, impulsive activity are brought under control : stereotyped action is consequently less frequent.

[1] See pp. 247, 248.

Parallel with the movement towards self-government in education has been the cognate movement away from an outgrown adherence to a curriculum which has merely a disciplinary value towards the ideal of making the class the replica of society in its occupations. Definite vocational training for specific pursuits has been introduced into the higher classes of many schools, and the curriculum has been refashioned to reflect the activities and interests of society as a whole in finance and commerce and industry. Thus the child is enabled, before he leaves school, to form a roughly accurate idea of how he may best use his own particular aptitudes in the world.

At the present stage, however, the main interest of educationists will be predominantly in the cultural aspects of the introduction of occupations and adult practices into the schools; and in the scope they offer for personal responsibility and useful service. No one will question the fact of the greatly increased vitality of the educative process when the content of education is made more definite and specific; the tendency may, however, unless wise guidance is exerted, lead us to neglect the larger considerations in education. As great in value as the knowledge of a vocation are the social ideals of justice, toleration and co-operation. For this reason we should be inclined to advocate as a first necessity, radical reform in the methods of teaching, rather than in the curriculum. We want methods employed in every subject which will create interest in a common task to be performed, in mutual help and healthy rivalry.

In support of our attitude we would quote the case of the English public schools in the best of which the masters have succeeded in developing a definite and, within limits, an admirable type of character, in spite of a curriculum which has deservedly met with keen criticism. The unique and corporate spirit of these schools has been largely fostered through the spontaneous play-activities of the pupils being centred in common interests and directed wisely by the masters rather than forced into the moulds of external adult choice. The boys have chosen their own leaders—in sport, at any rate—and these have worthily justified their choice by becoming examples of fair-play and virility well-adapted for imitation by their fellows. The *via regia* to good discipline is through tactful guidance of these natural class-leaders whom the children have spontaneously chosen because they have respected them. If the class-leaders display modesty, courage, personal honour and industry, then the rank and file will learn to develop the same qualities, while formal attempts to impose adult standards of morality will usually fail to win sympathy. (It will be noted that our observations have been dominated by *male* sympathies; though we trust that this inevitable limitation does not blind us to the corresponding needs of female education. We must leave to women the fuller and fitter presentation of their half of the whole problem with which we here venture to deal.)

In the earlier years of life the problems of enlisting the sympathies of children are less complex and not so pressing, but as the individual ego begins to take

clearer form and develop increasing strength, then every effort should be made to avoid antagonising that ego, and this can only be effected by giving it a way of expression, natural to its temperament and character, through which it can earn the respect of its fellows and its superiors.

There is no social value in the mere absorption of facts; indeed, this essentially individualistic attitude towards knowledge leads naturally to selfishness, and we must see, as teachers, that the tendency is usefully exploited through its balance by opposing tendencies. In co-equal union with the egoistic instincts we must develop the child's interest in the active corporate life of the class and school, and introduce the team-spirit of the play-group into the school to keep the latter fresh and healthy. If, for example, it is just an illusion on the part of the growing child—though it is distinctly doubtful if it really is an illusion—that he is sufficiently intelligent to help manage his own affairs, it is wiser to exploit this illusion than attempt to destroy it. In a later chapter we shall deal with some of the evils arising from unwise repression of the expanding life of the child.

The social feelings provide the strongest lever which the teacher can hope to find for correcting these illusions and for raising the expression of individuality to a higher level. Once children learn to work in order to get social approval it will be easy to refine and develop the sort of social approval they aim at securing. But if they never learn to take pleasure in the good opinion of their fellows, or to fear their displeasure, then the " hard

walls of the ego," [1] to use Mr. Bertrand Russell's expression, will rarely yield to any but the gravest shocks: the walls of the soul's Jericho, indeed, will only yield to the demand of the whole community shouting in unison in its extremest efforts for survival.

[1] *Principles of Social Reconstruction.*

CHAPTER V

THE NEW RENAISSANCE IN EDUCATION

It has been our argument that the normal centre of interest for all social creatures is in the life of the group of which they are members. According to this view, the man who is ego-centric by nature and habit is eccentric: his interests have swung loose from their true centre. There is something essentially pathological about his condition.

It was the Greeks who first saw clearly that individuality and sociality are each the obverse of the other. The gold coin of personality has two faces, and man is not wholly represented by one side alone or by the other: these are but differing forms of the same substance, and man is the "gowd for a' that." There need be no divorce, as the Greeks saw, between the interests of the individual and those of society, for the former are such that he can only develop satisfactorily through the latter. A society, in the form of a City-State, was, in fact, in the hands of the Greeks an association formed to secure a good life for its citizens: it represented their partnership in the life of virtue. Consequently it was natural that Greek education should be planned to secure both individual good and social good. So successfully and intimately were the strands of social well-being and of individual well-being interwoven in the soul of the young Greek, that at the age of

seventeen or eighteen he could enter confidently into full citizenship, and at the ceremony of receiving the soldiers' shield and spear he could take the customary oath of devotion to the City-State in the presence of his fellow-citizens with a clear grasp of its significance and value.[1]

Many writers on Greek education have pointed out that in practice the whole scheme of instruction was scanty. From the age of seven or eight to the age of fourteen or sixteen, Mr. Bernard Bosanquet tells us, the Greek lad was mainly occupied with the three "R's," with singing, playing the lyre, and with training in bodily exercises. "How was so much made out of so little?" asks Mr. Bosanquet.[2] It is a question to which one might very well take exception. The Greek lad was never mainly occupied with the three "R's," music and gymnastics (the latter of which, by the way, was meant by the Greeks to make the body not merely strong, but able in addition to express gracefully the well-proportioned soul within). At the earliest possible age the young Greek was taught the myths, and learnt by heart the heroic poems so that the example

[1] Bosanquet quotes his oath which runs: "I will not dishonour my sacred arms; I will not desert my fellow-soldier, by whose side I shall be set; I will do battle for my religion and my country whether aided or unaided. I will leave my country not less but greater and more powerful than she is when committed to me; I will reverently obey the ordinances which have been established by the national will; and whosoever would destroy these ordinances him I will not suffer, but will do battle for them, whether aided or unaided; and I will honour the temple where my fathers worshipped; of these things the gods are my witnesses."

[2] See Bosanquet: *The Education of the Young in the Republic of Plato.*

of the " happy warrior " had always a very powerful influence over him. He was always mainly and most busily employed when assimilating the essence of the national culture and idealism, and acquiring the sane and distinctive Greek outlook on life.

It is probable that every great advance in the progress of humanity will be preceded by a return to the Greek point of view, which marks the ideal starting-point for any re-orientation of human activities. The great impetus of the Renaissance towards individual culture came from the study of the Greek classics. Our new humanism will be equally indebted to the Greeks.

It will be well, then, if we set out upon our path of educational inquiry with the ideals of the ancient Greeks in mind as a criterion, for in spite of the general forward march of western civilisation, the Greeks represent still the highest type of culture and achievement, alike in personal stature and socialised expression, with which we are acquainted. In the age of Pericles in the comparatively small town of Athens there appeared in forty years, we ought to remember, more great men than the modern nations have produced in any hundred years.

Before the Greeks set up their City-States there had been in the western world, as far as we know, no such pre-eminent attention paid to individual development.[1] Monroe says, " the Greeks first formulated that conception of education which we call *liberal*. This is the education which is worthy

[1] This may require some modification in view of the recent discoveries of Cretan and other further-western centres of earlier civilisation.

of a free man and renders him capable of profiting by his freedom. More nearly than to any other people did the problem of education appear to the Greeks as it does to us in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." [1]

We may not feel disposed to agree entirely with the point of view expressed in the last sentence, but even allowing for the passage of time which has brought us the possibility of a greater variety of experience than was available to the Greeks, we find that the Greek ideal of self-realisation through social service is the ideal which in the twentieth century appeals to us more than any other ideal. The Greek ideal is one, however, which appears to need some amendment before it can win our sincere adherence to-day. We are fully aware now that the culture and civilisation of the Greeks were based on the institution of slavery. There was, it would seem, practically no full time active occupation for the educated classes in the days of peace. The education, therefore, which the Greeks demanded, was substantially of the kind which would enable them to make a ripe and noble use of leisure, to practice politics and to wage war. The craftsman had little leisure, and consequently little "education"; indeed, it was considered to be impossible to preserve the fit harmony of body and mind if one's main energies were employed wholly in manual work. For this reason the life of speculation was held up by the philosophers as the ideal form of existence.

The notion that the crafts are illiberal and unworthy of the systematic attention of the educated

[1] *History of Education.*

man can no longer be held. In our democratic age we have learnt to regard useful work of every kind as ennobling. It is, therefore, an article of the creed of the twentieth-century humanist that the cultural effects of working at an art or a craft are so unique and so penetrative that no man can be considered to be thoroughly educated unless he has disciplined himself in both pure and applied knowledge. The divorce between the philosopher and the skilled workman had become wide in the Athens which Plato and Aristotle knew; indeed, the change which made geometry, originally a practical subject, into a theoretical one, was typical of Hellenic culture. The community was over-stratified, too, into distinct classes.

Plato conceived the ideal of a time when philosophers would be kings, and kings philosophers. In the modern community we shall arrive at the highest pitch of perfection when our philosophers are not so much kings as skilled workmen, and our skilled workmen as well as our kings are philosophers; and our educational system will be sound when our teachers can show the value of the culture in deeds as well as in words. There will doubtless be a pious agreement expressed with this sentiment, but what we should like to see is an organised and sustained effort on the part of teachers to demand the necessary equipment for this wider co-operative education. Then may we help to create the new Hellenism which we need for the regeneration of ourselves and of society.

In *Janus and Vesta*, Mr. Benchara Branford names the inexhaustible founts of culture as three: "humanity itself (both as individual and as citizen),

the occupations of humanity, and nature," and the instruments of culture, he tells us, are correspondingly three: "language (including music and literature of all kinds), the 'arts and crafts,' and the natural sciences. Of these three, nature study ministers to the contemplative soul of man: the arts and crafts to his active or creative soul; while language is at once the supreme synthetic instrument of his world-wide contemplation and the synergic organ of his world-wide activities." Here we have the broad human aim which neglects no important aspect of many-sided man.

While, therefore, we take the Greek ideal of self-realisation through social activity as the ideal which most commands our assent, we must interpret it in the light of our modern needs, and recognise that the speculative activity, so beloved of Plato and Aristotle, though it may fitly express man's profoundest emotions, will yet be comparatively unproductive of any great harvest of beneficent influence unless through the more broadly-human and the instinctive activities we have already watered and enriched the soil with their fertilising experience. We must not accept too eagerly, however, the opinions of even Plato or Aristotle as wholly representative of the Greek spirit. That has never been fully enough expressed in written form, but it remains for our eternal admiration, eloquent in joy and beauty and repose, as long as marble retains its shape and humanity its eyes.

The obvious fact to keep in mind in all our theorising about education is that no system will work which is in fundamental conflict with the deep-

seated desires and root impulses of the people to be educated. The successful advertiser of any brand of marketed goods has learnt and knows exactly how to touch the appropriate chords in our nature to make them vibrate in sympathetic response. He understands quite well whether it is the moment to appeal to the instinct of self-assertion, or to the sentiment of pity, to the hoarding instinct, or to the herd instincts. Certainly he never would remain content with telling people that his goods were priced at a certain amount and that they ought to be purchased. The educationist, on the other hand, instead of making the fullest use of the instinctive side of our nature goes to the other extreme, and in his contempt for what is not rational has often deliberately flouted it. Hence the tremendous improvement effected by Montessori who has worked with nature instead of against it.

It does not necessarily follow that any change from the traditional system to a completely new system will be marked by initial success. For example, it is now quite a truism that children brought up under repressive restraint are incapable at first of making wise use of freedom, and it is possible, too, that if the class becomes a self-organising group in which the creative impulses find full expression, and there is a complete dissolution of the "prison complex," by virtue of which children get to like being shut up together and let others take responsibility for their activities, then, as a result, our great factories may lose their principal source of recruitment, unless re-oriented to satisfy the newly-awakened and legitimate ideals

of the future race of workers. Still, the change must come.[1] Thus may education be no longer content to reflect the mechanical features of the world of industry, but re-inspire that world with its own new life, and, moreover, in turn be thereby re-inspired.

We believe that the movement which is being rapidly extended in favour of introducing into the curriculum serviceable occupations which call for initiative, inventiveness and personal responsibility is a healthy movement, provided that the dominating end is not the financial exploitation of the pupils' aptitudes. Field geography, gardening, handwork, painting, decorating and modelling, calculating games and shopping, not only make education more interesting to the children by their appeal to concrete tendencies in their nature; they call for the ability to grapple with new situations and new problems. They are as fuel to the flame of the vigorous will-to-live which exists in the normal child.

Healthy individuality welcomes the opportunity for getting the joy of a new adaptation. It resents being kept continually in the backwaters when it feels equal to remaining abreast of the tide. The characteristic marks of developing life are inventiveness, the challenge to difficulty, plasticity, and an interest in novelty. The characteristic marks of degeneration are passiveness, conformity and the

[1] Industrial invention will in time enfranchise the worker, and is already enfranchising him, as the invention of the oil-driven ship, for example, is setting free the stoker for work not so wholly mechanical.

desire for ease and quiet and escape from hard-thinking.[1]

If we have emphasised the need for social forms of behaviour, we have not identified these with that silent acquiescence in custom and tradition, whatever its quality or nature, which is the enemy of progress. But the community has its problems to face as well as the individual; and it must depend upon the individual for their solution. The school, therefore, while acting as an agent of the community for the preservation of the necessary automatic forms of social behaviour, will also be the "growing end" of the social mind. As civilised life becomes more and more complex, more and more will the schools be called upon to supply the type of mind which can adopt a constructive attitude towards our common problems, with a patience and fortitude in seeking their solution which will scorn the invitation to "eat, live and be merry."

These healthier attitudes can be established by the teacher. But the parent must already have done his share in the earliest years of life by encouraging self-reliance and industry. The parent who solves every difficulty for his child is the enemy not only of the child but of society. We have all seen, for example, the grown-up girl, who has never been allowed to soil her fingers or plan a day's responsible work, in the act of catching a train. There may be a dozen indicators showing in large

[1] Bernard Shaw says in one of his play-prefaces that the successful man goes through life instinctively making for the focus of struggle and resisting every tendency to edge him out to a place of ease.

figures which platforms the trains start from and at what time, but she will ask porter after porter what she must do, and remain obviously ill-at-ease even after she has entered the right carriage, asked every one there if the train is bound for her destination and has been told that it is. She is a psychic parasite who has never learnt to depend on herself: she is a neurotic who shrinks from every crisis; woe to the society in which this type of citizen increases.

When, therefore, we point to the need of the class developing in such a way as to become the miniature of society, we do so because we are convinced that it is an absolute condition of growth that the natures of our children should be kept plastic and capable of adaptation and re-adaptation in the times of crisis. If we call, to-day, for new methods and new equipment it is in the interests of that human individuality and civilisation which seem to be threatened by the, let us hope, not insurmountable dangers before us. The times impending will call for the greatest skill on the part of the teacher, but in his turn he will find greater joy in his work as its scope is extended and becomes fuller of variety. The day will soon be upon us, indeed, when every class-room will be a workshop, a laboratory, a museum, a picture-gallery, a lecture and music-room, a theatre or a library, and it will be sufficiently spacious to allow for any kind of collective activity to be carried on without necessitating the removal of desks; for imprisoned bodies breed imprisoned minds. Every class, too, will have its country camp where the spirit of adventure can find appropriate expression, and revel in new experience. Then

education will cease to be merely a means of preparation for the life that is; it will also be a means of preparation for exploiting the emergencies of the life that is, for the sake of the life to be.

Pedagogy will come to mean the leading out of the child towards an ever-extending personal acquaintance with things and forces, individual and social, and the child will be led deliberately towards the new experiences that he continually needs to keep him stimulated and inventive. Chance and a narrow circle of friends cannot be left to supply him with the conditions of vigorous growth. The school can organise many kinds of experience for the child which he will be ripe for assimilating, suggest games he may never contrive if left to himself, introduce him through well-planned excursions and holidays to farm-life and forest-life, to the life of seaports and factories, to the treasures of museums and art-galleries, all for the purpose of aiding him to form the conception of a world rich beyond his dreaming with a wealth of worthy experience awaiting his discovery, and with an endless store of opportunities to be found for playing a manly part in it.

The children of to-day are beginning to enter upon their new inheritance: they have been paupers in the æsthetic, ethical and intellectual senses too long. They have been denied the privileges of making use of every available kind of spiritual nourishment. To some of us it must seem a small thing, though terrible enough, that the children of the poor should grow up without proper bodily comfort in comparison with the fact that they are compelled to grow up in an environment destitute of opportunities for free and happy self-expression,

destitute of the art, music and literature from which the soul of the well-educated, socially-superior child is nourished daily, and surrounded with care, anxiety and squalor in place of joyous activity in noble work.

PART II

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MODERN WESTERN EDUCATIONAL THEORY

CHAPTER I

THE CONTENT AND METHOD OF INSTRUCTION

In the preceding section we have given a general account of the separate tendencies at work in the modern educational world, which together are responsible for the present condition of our educational problems. We have suggested that there has been no steady growth as from seed to leaf, leaf to flower, and flower to fruit, in the development of educational theory, but that the progress made may more usefully be likened to that of an explorer who has found himself on an adventure he had not reckoned with, and is seeking some satisfactory way out of it into freedom, finding happily new weapons and instruments falling continually into his hands, but new crises continually arising, and choosing in accordance with no fixed plan route after route and weapon after weapon.[1] Whether to-day we are in the position, as we think, of combining all our weapons and instruments into the form of a mighty engine of progress which

[1] See, for example, *The Evolution of Educational Theory* (Prof. John Adams).

will irresistibly take us forward into the sunlight and the starlight of a great achievement, time will tell.

In the present section of our little book we shall attempt to emphasise the halting progress of educational theory in the West during the past five hundred years, noting the principal alternations of interest and effort among educators, so that the coming synthesis of principles foreshadowed must appear no less natural than inevitable. The great educators of the past will appear too often as rebels who, in their impatience with existing ideals and eagerness to set up new standards, have turned their backs upon the good in the past as well as upon the bad. They are, however, in every age successful only in so far as they attempt to combine in a new synthesis the old good with the new.

Lest the reader should infer from our narrow selection of centuries and personalities that at no other time in history were the pinnacles of culture and civilisation in such bright or rare eminence as during the past five hundred years, we hasten to assure him that there is no ground for this inference. We nowhere deal with the educational systems of the East or with their contributions to the solution of our problems; and we do not even skim ever so superficially from the rich cream of the products of Roman and mediæval thought and practice. We desire merely to account historically for the presence of certain obvious factors in our modern problems. If we have already emphasised the Greek point of view, and shall begin with a reference to the Renaissance, it is because of our belief that every fresh stream of vigorous thinking and idealism must find

its fount and origin in the springs of Hellenism and renaissant Europe.

The Renaissance makes for us to-day an excellent starting-point because it was then that the western world rediscovered the ancient classics and made felicitous use of them. Subsequently there arose unparalleled demands for a deeper knowledge of man and nature, a more comprehensive insight into the problems of social life, and an increase of the means of education. Erasmus, the greatest of the scholars of this period, placed the classics of Greece and Rome on a level with the scriptures and sacred writings of the Christian Church as sources of inspiration, declaring that they contained the secret of the life that allures all men who are tormented by the fragmentary and illusory nature of present satisfactions and delights. But, in a number of later instances, it was the form rather than the spirit of the classics of Greece and Rome which entranced the mind of the scholars of the Renaissance.

Except by the greatest teachers, education at that time was not regarded as a thing of social necessity: the only social value that could be ascribed to it lay in its power of making a man a graceful, witty and agreeable companion. Education became, in spite of bright promise, a formal and sterile affair with no more than an ornamental value useful in marking off certain classes of society from others. To be profoundly educated was to be a man of books, and ancient ones at that. All that was demanded of the schoolmaster was that he should be acquainted with the classics; the desirability of a thorough knowledge of child psychology or of the most economical methods of learning had not yet

become apparent. But the great teachers of the period, men like Vittorino da Feltre, and our own Dean Colet, were at least thoroughly enthusiastic about one thing, and it was this: that the world could be successfully regenerated through its leaders possessing a complete and living knowledge of the Greek classics.

Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446), "the first modern schoolmaster," was the greatest and most representative teacher of the Renaissance.[1] It was during his youth that western Europe re-discovered the ancient Greeks, causing the eminent Greek scholar Manuel Chrysoloras to come from Constantinople to Italy (1397–1400) for the purpose of stimulating the new interest which had been aroused. Vittorino eagerly absorbed the best spirit of the Greek tradition and endeavoured to reconcile and harmonise it with Christian principles. His successful synthesis of the two was admirably suited to the needs of the age, and the application of his new ideal to education was splendidly triumphant. His school at Mantua, housed in a building and garden fitly named "*La Giocosa*," rapidly became famous, and was the model of many subsequent ones. Here the children of Vittorino's patron, the Marquis of Mantua, were educated together with others carefully chosen by Vittorino himself, some the rich offspring of neighbouring princes, others the gifted children of the poor. All lived together as equals, taking their games, meals and studies in close companionship.

The aim of Vittorino was the production of men

[1] See *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*, by W. H. Woodward.

and citizens, fully developed in body, character and mind. His method was to work through the proper alternation of games and physical exercise with the study of the intellectual and moral content of the classics of Greece and Rome. In little, if in anything at all, did Vittorino fall short of the ideal of the noblest Greeks. The flaw in his system cannot be considered as due to any personal defect. It was the result of the belief of all the educated men of his day, that Latin was destined to become the universal language of culture. Retrospective rather than prospective became the resultant mental attitude of men and women, with their interests centred in what had already been done rather than in what still remained to be done.

Consequently in Vittorino we get the beginning of that movement which took growing life away from the present and the serious use of the vernacular, and fastened it to the task of imitating artificially the past.

Rabelais (1483–1553) was struck by the shallowness of much of the Renaissance learning. He found his brother monks very contemptuous of the new learning to which he himself was so attached, and consequently his educational theory was largely written in self-justification. He wrote the life of Gargantua, a traditional giant of his native countryside, and described his education in detail. A history of education which has for its object the tracing back to their origin of the principal features of a complete culture will always give credit to Rabelais for first introducing the realistic method of teaching.

Gargantua was introduced by his tutor, Pono-

crates, to words through things. Things were taught, however, not to serve as a basis for a knowledge of nature, but to serve as a better basis for a comprehension of the meaning of language. The classics which he found despised by his companions were still implied to be the ideal content of education, and education was regarded as the process of developing the perfectly accomplished gentleman. Gargantua was educated apart from his peers, as a "thing-in-himself."

Rabelais was the first great teacher of a line of reformers who wrote of the education of a single pupil. Like the heirs of his doctrine, he failed to emphasise the value of group-activities in aiding the pupils' development.

John Sturm (1507–1589), the greatest of the German schoolmasters of the sixteenth century, with his school for a thousand scholars, maintained that the object of education should be "to direct the aspiration of the scholars towards God, to develop their intelligence, and to render them useful citizens by teaching them the skill to communicate their thoughts and sentiments with persuasive effect."

The ideal was closely allied to the Hellenic ideal, but it was not worked for rationally or consciously, the only self-expression sought being in language and through the Latin tongue. No very deep realisation of the social implications of the ideal seems to have been vouchsafed to Sturm. Education was conceived as a fully conscious process depending wholly on books for its efficiency. The possibility of socialising human egoism through companionship in work and play was missed. Had Sturm been obliged, as was Vittorino in educating

the children of the Marquis of Mantua, to take into account and use the already existing Court education in sports and games, he might not have fallen short in this particular. Even so, he lacked the enthusiastic belief in the content of the classics which was Vittorino's constant inspiration.

Montaigne (1533–1592) derived his educational theory directly from meditation about his own experience. He had been carefully trained by his father. Up to the age of six he had heard and used no language but Latin. So much was done for him as a child that when grown-up he always found it a tremendous struggle to make up his mind about a difficult matter and act decisively. It was consequently natural that he should have blamed his education for his personal defects. He declared himself to be quite dissatisfied with the existing content of education, which appeared to him to be suitable neither for developing the spirit of a gentleman nor for producing the decisiveness of a man of action. He rightly viewed the mind of man as being something more than a receptive and reproductive organ. Montaigne saw that the Spartans were not learned men and yet were capable of manly action. He was the first prominent utilitarian in the field of educational reform; he believed strongly in the activity of the senses, and in the use of the vernacular as the basis of education. Montaigne expected instruction, however, to do for the sons of gentlemen what the Spartans relied upon tradition, social customs, and group-life to effect. As was the case with Gargantua, Montaigne's imaginary pupil was also placed in charge of a private tutor and educated apart from his equals.

Roger Ascham (1515–1568) has claims upon the attention of the educational historian because he made significant contributions to the reform of method. He gave us, in a charmingly written book, *The Scholemaster*, a discourse upon the most effective methods of teaching languages. He introduced the double-translation method, requiring his pupils to translate their Greek or Latin into English, and subsequently their own version back into the original.

Like all Court schoolmasters, he was obliged to take into account the physical side of education, and in *Toxophilus* he advocates archery as an ideal form of physical education. Ascham saw no necessity, however, to emphasise the importance of games demanding co-operation and due subordination of the self. If we could agree that the chief end of education is the teaching of languages, then we should give Ascham a privileged place among reformers.

Richard Mulcaster (1531–1611), like Montaigne, held very modern views upon the necessity of basing education on the facts of sense-experience, and on the vernacular. Like the Jesuits, too, he declared himself to be opposed to private individual tuition and, moreover, advocated training colleges for teachers. He seems, therefore, to have aimed at a synthesis of the best educational ideas that had hitherto been tried. But like his predecessors, he, too, was preoccupied with the problems of instruction, as distinct from those of education. If Mulcaster had possessed more of the broad human spirit of his great contemporary, Shakespeare, who ridiculed his fantastic learning and self-conceit in the

character of Holofernes in *Love's Labour Lost*, he would have been one of the greatest of all educational reformers.[1]

Ratke (*Ratichius*) (1571–1635), of Holstein, like Mulcaster, was concerned chiefly with the problems of effective instruction, rather than with those of educational generally. He discovered an art of teaching "according to Nature" which consisted principally in a systematisation of the methods of his forerunners. He is, therefore, deservedly given an important place in educational history. He advocated teaching "one thing at a time" in the vernacular, in the most interesting manner, and in the realistic method through the handling of actual objects wherever possible.

Comenius (1592–1671), of Moravia, stands out head and shoulders above all the other educators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by reason of his wide and deep philosophic insight into the nature of the problems of method, and by reason of the universal character of his own knowledge and his encyclopædic proposals for the education of all. Like Ratke, he owed much to the philosophy of Bacon. He taught that instruction in things and words should go together, but he evolved in addition a natural order of emphasis in instruction. No psychological analysis of the order of the development of the mind had been attempted before, and therefore Comenius's order was an invaluable contribution to method. First, he thought, the senses should be developed, next the memory, then the intellect by a method we may call "intuitive and

[1] The passage from R. H. Quick, quoted on p. 10, was a summing up of Mulcaster's views.

perceptive," and finally the critical faculty. Practically every psychologist and educator up till recently has adopted this much too arbitrary order. Fairly interpreting it by common sense a good teacher will derive distinct benefit from the occasional use of this order, but it is essentially logical and not psychological. Nevertheless, it has proved so useful that we are even now only just passing beyond it. Comenius introduced the study of nature into his scheme. He took quite frankly the characteristic individualistic point of view which came in with the Renaissance, and paid practically no attention to the cultivation of character and the civic virtues, for the reason probably that he regarded this life as merely a training-ground for the real experiences of eternity. Like Mulcaster, he had a thorough grasp of the possibilities of good instruction, but let slip an important element which was needed to make his scheme thoroughly sound.

John Milton (1608–1674), as we should expect, returned more faithfully and with greater understanding to the spirit of the Greeks than any of his predecessors in educational theory who had advocated classical learning. It is not, we think, sufficiently realised that the defects in his system are too trifling to outweigh the great advantages it possessed. His definition of education has not yet been surpassed, and his schemes were planned to secure such an education. " I call, therefore, a complete and generous education," he says in his Tractate, " that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of Peace and War."

Professor Laurie and R. H. Quick considered the

Miltonic idea of combining the military education of Sparta with the humanistic education of Athens as entirely impracticable. But Vittorino da Feltre had already proved it to be otherwise.

In his excellent little book on *The Permanent Values in Education*, Mr. Kenneth Richmond has compared Milton with Comenius. He says, "Milton's system aims at the education of a governing class; his entire view of education is based upon the oligarchic ideal. . . . He would educate the few; Comenius would educate every one, on the same principle by which he would 'teach everything.' Milton is exclusive, Comenius inclusive. 'In this respect,' says Masson, 'the passions and the projects of Comenius were a world wider than Milton's.' Further, Milton has only partially digested the universalism of Comenius; at twenty-three or so his pupils are to be sent travelling, 'not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience'—as though the two factors could be separated."

Mr. Richmond is hardly just to Milton. Milton's infirmities as an educationalist were those of a noble mind, and the only fault one can reasonably find with his scheme is that it depended too much upon books. Still, he represents the classical spirit at its best.

In concluding this chapter we may fittingly quote an illuminating passage from the writings of Mr. A. J. Penty, a doughty apologist of the earlier, mediæval culture, without, however, pretending that the point of view is entirely our own; we cannot, for instance, agree that Renaissance culture was wholly a matter of books.

"While thus we see the Renaissance ended by

destroying communal traditions in the arts, it destroyed also the communal traditions of culture of the Middle Ages. This culture which had its basis in common religious ideas was a human thing to the extent that it was capable of binding king and peasant, priest and craftsman together in a common bond of sympathy and understanding. It was, moreover, a culture which came to a man at his work which he learnt from a song, it was part of the environment in which he lived. But the Renaissance had no sympathy with culture of this kind. It could not understand craft culture. To it culture was primarily a matter of books. It was a purely intellectual affair, its standards were critical, and, as such, instead of operating to bind the various classes of the community together, it has raised a barrier between the many and the few. And there is no escape from this state of things so long as culture remains on a purely intellectual basis, for a time will never arrive when the majority in any class are vitally interested in intellectual pursuits. Mediæval culture did not expect them to be. It accepted differences among men as irrevocable, but it knew at the same time that all men had certain human interests in common, and it built up a culture to preserve them." (*New Age*, vol. xxiv.)

CHAPTER II

THE INDIVIDUAL NATURE OF THE CHILD

One cannot escape the impression that the classicism of the Renaissance rapidly lost its freshness and virility. When the interests of men are centred in the past rather than in the future, in imitation of old models rather than in the invention of new ones, in books rather than in living experience, and in barren speculation rather than in the arts and crafts and sciences, then degeneration has already set in. With the appearance of John Locke we get a return of the vitality that characterised the Greeks. For him there are new interests and new methods demanding attention. No longer after Locke's time could education be regarded as a system for handing out to children the classical but outgrown clothes of their elders. Education had henceforth to be re-fashioned and made to fit the child properly.

John Locke (1632–1704) inherited the practical spirit of Montaigne, and like him, described an ideal method of education which was intended for the few; but with Locke several new ideas sprang to birth in the world of education. His predecessors were preoccupied with the content and method of instruction; none of his successors except Herbert Spencer was so preoccupied. The centre of attention was shifted by Locke and focused on the

investigation of the nature of the individual child-mind. Locke was the first to emphasise this important factor in education. In addition, as a student of medicine, he preached vigorously the doctrine of " the sound mind in the sound body," a phrase carrying with it the implication that physical health and mental efficiency are inter-related. Locke, more than any one else, has moulded the type of education given in our public schools : the attention devoted in these schools to fresh air and exercise can be traced back directly to his influence.

Locke's educational theories were based upon his general philosophy which held that all knowledge is originally derived from sensation, and that the mind of the child is a *tabula rasa* upon which the teacher may write what he wills. Strangely enough, Locke paid scant attention to training the senses on which, according to his own theory, all our knowledge depends.

Though he was primarily interested in knowledge, he was also interested in moral development. His system of morality was based on the principle of self-interest, and the great virtues aimed at in his scheme were self-control and self-restraint. This is but complementary to his ego-centric philosophy. He does not seem to have been greatly concerned with the education of the imagination and the feelings or of the social tendencies. He was first and foremost an individualist.

Jacob Pereira (1715–1780), a Spanish Jew who settled in France, made the first practical application of Locke's philosophy, though probably he himself never heard of it. If, as Locke taught, all our knowledge is derived from sensations, so that

"nothing is in the mind which was not originally in the senses," then the obvious first step in education is to train the receptive senses to function properly. Pereira took this first step in the case of one particular sense without realising that his method represented a general truth. He evolved a successful method of teaching deaf-mutes to speak.[1]

Pereira taught his pupils to observe him speak, and to speak themselves through their imitation of the vibrations of his own voice which he made them feel through the skin. His method was perforce individual, and it was motived by an intense sympathy, for Pereira prepared himself for his life-work, originally, in order to aid a deaf-mute young lady for whom he had developed an affection on coming to live in Bordeaux. We have here an inspiring illustration of the truth that the teacher who cares sufficiently for his work has within him the creative force which will enable him to triumph over the insurmountable, and penetrate into the secrets which still remain unrevealed.

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the greatest of all the individualist educators, was a personal friend of Pereira, and developed the general principle of Locke above mentioned, which was implied in Pereira's method, namely, that the training of the senses should be the first step in practical education. He rejected, however, the *tabula rasa* theory of the mind held by Locke which makes the mind practically a passive element in education, holding rather that the mind is essentially an active agent in the

[1] The deaf-mute has the mechanism of speech intact, but has never felt the need to speak because he has never heard any one else speak.

educational process. "At the commencement of life," he wrote, "when the memory and the imagination are as yet inactive, the child limits his attention to what actually affects his senses. . . . He wants to touch and handle everything; do not check his movements which teach him invaluable lessons. It is by looking, fingering and hearing, and above all by comparing sight and touch, that he learns to feel the heat and the cold, the hardness and softness, the heaviness and lightness of bodies, and to judge of their size and form and all their physical properties." [1]

Rousseau's chief title to fame, then, as an educational writer, is that his theories were the first which were in any way soundly based upon the facts of child psychology. Education, for Rousseau, was an active process of self-development. But living in a time when institutions were corrupt and the social conditions of the large cities deplorable he reacted to his environment with a belief that civilisation *in toto* was a "disease," that there was nothing but evil in social life, and that the ideal life was that of the "noble savage" of whom Dryden wrote :—

"when wild in woods the noble savage ran."

Émile, the hero of Rousseau's principal book on education, was accordingly educated in isolation in the country, and not till he was fifteen was he allowed to think about morals or the duties of a citizen. Our remarks in Chapter II, Part I, on the importance of sympathetic human companionship

[1] Book I., *Émile*.

to the growing child, will suffice to show the artificiality of this method of education.

Rousseau was the greatest of the theorists among educators up to his time, but in the presence of some of his successors who understood better the social nature of the child, his theories, fruitful and epoch-making as they have been, are seen now to have been lacking in proportion. To-day we do not restrict all early education to sense-training in spite of the extreme importance of the latter. We believe that even in the earliest years the foundations of the character can be firmly laid.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THE CHILD

TAKING their cue from the philosophy of John Locke, a long line of thinkers in England, from David Hume to Herbert Spencer, developed the individualistic view of our human problems, and showed a characteristic inability to appreciate any system of morals or of administration which was not based upon the idea that self-interest is the supreme and the controlling motive in all human action. In Germany the complementary philosophy which holds that it is man's highest nature to serve the State and find therein his greatest satisfaction, was developed by a line of thinkers of whom the principal figures were Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Herbart.

Fichte (1762–1814) lived during the time of the Napoleonic invasion of Prussia, and, as an intensely patriotic German, laboured heroically to revive the national spirit of his countrymen, as, for example, by his lofty *Addresses to the German Nation* (1807–1808). His philosophy naturally became adapted to the needs of the times; indeed, in his writings, the germs of modern state socialism can be found in an already active form.

Hegel (1770–1831), Germany's greatest philosopher after Kant, did not feel the heavy hand of the political present so constraining. Though in the

end his theory was a state buttress of the most absolute kind, he was largely influenced by Greek thought, but it only needed the excesses of the French revolutionaries to establish firmly in his mind a more modernised idea of the absolute State as something of sacred value representing as it did law and order and providing the only means of human development. Between them, Fichte and Hegel made it impossible for German educators to take the narrow view that education must assist the individual to develop to the full irrespective of the needs of others.

John Henry Pestalozzi (1746–1827), of Zurich, came originally under the influence of Rousseau, but, nevertheless, in practice, his Rousselian maxim that education is " the harmonious development of all the powers of the individual " underwent considerable modification, owing to the influence of the prevailing German philosophy. His own tendency towards a neurotic outlook on life improved and emphasised rather than spoilt the qualities of the educational system he developed. Personally, he never outgrew his childish attachment to his mother, and never could adapt himself readily or happily to the unfriendly world. He saw the problems of life through the eyes of the infant, and knew that he did. " My head was grey," he once said, " but I was still a child." It was entirely due to this infantilism of Pestalozzi, which most men pass beyond and contemptuously forget, that our kindergarten schools are so successful to-day: it delivered them from formalism and excess of theory. In his own life he was lost unless some one was at hand to replace his own mother, and when he

organised schools it was the mother-element and the family-spirit introduced by him into them which made them an improvement upon all previous schools.

The disciples of Pestalozzi in many cases lacked the perfect sympathy and practical synthetic grasp of the problems of education possessed by their master, and turned their attentions to parts of his system rather than to the whole. Pestalozzi himself thoroughly understood the concrete needs of children, and modelled his schools upon homely natural lines.

Rousseau had merely described in a more or less negative manner the education of a single favoured pupil: Pestalozzi, who was a practical social reformer, organised schools for all within his reach. The education he provided was more satisfactory than Émile's; it was culture in the best sense. Again, morality to Rousseau was contemned as mere custom and convention, but to Pestalozzi it was "the result of the development of the first sentiments of love and gratitude felt by the infant."

Pestalozzi was the first educator to recognise the need for exploiting the spontaneity of the child in the interests of growth. By giving the child interesting occupations he made the first great step forward towards the conscious training of the creative intelligence, a side of mentality which so many educators have missed.

John Frederick Herbart (1776–1841), the successor of the great Immanuel Kant as professor of philosophy at Kœnigsberg, was the founder of modern scientific educational psychology. He saw quite clearly that completely successful practice must depend upon sound theory, that they grow by mutual inspiration

and support, and he attempted, consequently, to put the Pestalozzian system upon a firm theoretical basis by an investigation in the spirit of John Locke —Herbart even accepted the *tabula rasa* view of the infant mind—into the conditions of the educability of the individual child. This educability he saw to be best developed first through sense-perception, then through memory, and finally through judgment. All that comes to the mind is assimilated, but a man's character is not so much moulded by his knowledge as by his will, which originates in his likes and dislikes. The interests of men, therefore, play a great part in the formation of character. Herbart names six important interests, the empiric, the speculative, the æsthetic, the sympathetic, the social and the religious, and the exclusive development of any one he says, is to be avoided. Rather should there be undertaken by the educator an attempt to aid the development in the child of a "many-sided" interest. It was Herbart who reinterpreted the culture-epoch theory with his idea of the concentration of studies. All the subjects of the curriculum were correlated by him to form a unified whole which should make a connected appeal to the child along a well-chosen line of interest. The culture-epoch theory of human development, with which we deal later, was worked up in detail by Ziller from Herbart's germ idea. The defect of Herbart's psychology was that it was too exclusively intellectualistic, that while treating of interests, it nevertheless neglected too completely the instinctive impulses which lie behind the will and are the source of its vitality.

Frederick William Froebel (1782–1852), brought the

wheel of educational change practically full-circle back to the Greek position. He had a wider philosophic insight than his master Pestalozzi but, nevertheless, owed a great deal to him. He was, perhaps, not so directly concrete in method; his advances were in the way rather of systematisation and organisation. But compared with Herbart's, Froebel's insight was deeper. "Herbart laid the emphasis upon instruction as a means for forming character; Froebel upon the stimulated and guided activities of the child. To Froebel, education beginning with the spontaneous activity of the child and leading from that to ideas and permanently formed volitional interests, was more largely an emotional and volitional than an intellectual training. The volitional, not as with Herbart the intellectual, character of the human mind was asserted to be fundamental." [1]

The good teacher, however, always contrives to be both a Froebelian and a Herbartian.

The ideal educational method in the eyes of Froebel was self-activity in an environment of sympathetic companionship. The child, he saw, learnt best and most naturally through living, and not through instruction, what is meant by such ideals as truth, justice, personality, virtue, etc. Froebel provided, therefore, the ideal educative environment for the child by establishing the *kindergarten*, where handwork, instruction, etc., were spontaneously undertaken. All the relations found afterwards in society were given in a simplified form in the kindergarten. Here was established the natural link between the playgroup and the world,

[1] Monroe, *Brief Course in the History of Education*.

Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), was probably the most widely read author on the subject of education during the latter half of the nineteenth century. After Pestalozzi and Froebel, however, he marks a distinct regression in the movement of educational theory. By his educational writings he interrupted sharply the gradual synthetic movement which had almost reached its culmination. He was a staunch individualist, and his scheme of education is wholly based upon the idea that self-interest motives all our conduct. Studies, according to Spencer, should only be accorded a prominent place in the curriculum if they have a bread-and-butter value; ornamental studies are to be added later when there is leisure for them.

When we consider, however, the intellectual condition of the English public schools in the nineteenth century (unreformed in their curriculum until after the investigations of the Royal Commission of 1864, with the whole energies of teachers and scholars directed to the study of Latin and Greek, a little Euclid being added in some cases, though no science and no history), we cannot be surprised at Spencer's preoccupation with the task of reforming the content of education. Enthusiastic disciples of Spencer, however, have gone to the extreme of deriding all education not strictly practical or utilitarian. They have called for direct vocational instruction in the schools of a kind which would effectively stereotype status and bring us within sight of the servile State with almost complete disregard for the main tasks of education which are to develop and humanise the personalities of the children.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENT-DAY WRITERS AND CURRENT TENDENCIES

Briefly enough, and in the roughest outline, we have indicated the characteristic features of the systems, already classical, of the great educationists since the Renaissance, with the intention of illustrating our point that there has been no really decided general movement towards a synthesis of all the possible methods of approach towards the educational ideal, and that there has been a tendency to take side views rather than complete views. Happily, to-day, we can say that those who take the social view of education allow greater scope than their predecessors for individuality, and those who are concerned most for individuality do not so completely lose sight of the needs of society and civilisation as Spencer and his school; that those who advocate classical studies are not unmindful of the urgent needs of the pulsing present life, and that those who advocate a modern curriculum are not completely blind to the values of the old ones.

In our present section we shall be deliberately exclusive, and take but three of the vast number of possible representatives of the present era, though with the assurance that they are completely typical of the movements they themselves have heralded. The three are Madame Maria Montessori of Italy, Prof. John Dewey of America, and Mr. Benchara

Branford of England. Madame Montessori represents all that is best in the individual tradition and Dewey all that is best in the social tradition; and we venture to think that Mr. Benchara Branford represents the philosophic and synthesised view of education, based upon a thorough consideration of educational history. Madame Maria Montessori represents the wave-crest of the movement which began with Pereira (*see* p. 82). Following Pereira, two remarkably successful educators, the immediate predecessors of Madame Montessori, took up the study of methods suitable for use with defectives.

Itard (1775–1831) undertook to surprise his French contemporaries with an educated idiot, since they declared it to be impossible that any idiot could be educated and that his pupil was certainly an idiot. He had become deeply interested in this pupil, a boy of eleven to twelve years of age, who had been caught by three sportsmen hunting in the Aveyron district. The boy showed no signs of human intelligence, lacked the power of speech, and was incapable of self-restraint. "Citizen Pinel represented his senses to us as in such a state of inertia that this unfortunate youth was found inferior to some of our domestic animals." [1] With great patience and insight Itard succeeded in understanding how to appeal to the boy's nature in such a way as to stir the possibilities of development within him, and to a certain extent made him amenable to social life.

Edouard Seguin (1812–1880), a pupil of Itard in medicine and surgery who was encouraged by his master to take up the study of idiocy, made great

[1] *An Historical Account of a Savage Man* (1802).

advances in educational method. The physiological training which he devised for idiots was based on the idea that mental efficiency is conditioned by bodily vigour and by the capacity for successful sense-discrimination which is set operating by desire, and that consequently all attempts at developing the higher mental functions, are futile before the movements of the body can be co-ordinated and the senses report the phenomena of the external world adequately. Seguin's method secured the fullest possible development of bodily control that could be hoped for in the circumstances, and of the separate senses in turn, or to put it in his own way, it was his endeavour " to lead the child, as it were, by the hand from the education of the muscular system to that of the nervous system and of the senses." [1] His objective, however, was not the mere development of the separate senses, but always the development of the whole personality, and, in all the exercises he devised, this idea was constantly before him.

Madame Montessori derived her educational theories, as the world now well knows, from a study of the writings of Seguin (which had been practically forgotten at the moment of their resuscitation by her publication of a book describing his methods). Struck by the fact, significant of so much, that the well-trained idiots in her own Orthophrenic school at Rome often reached a higher standard of attainment in reading and writing than the average normal children of the same age, she concluded that the latter would develop much more quickly if the methods used in the teaching of defectives

[1] *Idiocy*, E. Seguin.

were applied to them also. Her skilful devisal of reliable and effective methods for the education of younger children has gained her world-wide renown. Given her self-corrective apparatus and the spontaneity of the child it would seem that little is left to the teacher; the extremest of her supporters, indeed, would make the "system" apparently a "fool-proof" one which anybody could work.

One must not forget, however, that an exceptional teacher without the Montessori apparatus is after all a better teacher than a poor one who knows exactly how to use the apparatus.

Madame Montessori is an empiricist in the main and disclaims any detailed systematic philosophical basis for her teaching. In so far as she has an ideal of society it is the individualist's; she has a distrust of group methods in education, though as soon as she leaves the training of the senses and intellect, and begins to impose her moral principles on children it is the group method (*i. e.* through sympathy, etc.) which she is obliged to use. It has been pointed out already that, though she is an enthusiastic apostle of freedom for the child in the physical and intellectual provinces, she allows no freedom in the ethical sphere. Here the child has to accept the ready-made morality of adults. Still it is a great point with her that even if the child has not freedom in the absolute sense, and never can have it, he will develop best if he *feels* that he is free and not being thwarted.

It has been objected to her method that it neglects the humanities; that it is not universally applicable to children of all ages; and that it takes insufficient account of innate racial distinctions (as

in her criticism of the English fairy-story). We have not yet witnessed, however, the full and final development of her system. It has been objected, too, against her didactic system that the apparatus should be withheld except to purchasers of the complete set. This is a natural objection on the part of teachers who are accustomed to do much valuable pioneer work for nothing; but even in education it may well be contended (though we would not press too closely the analogy between a spiritual occupation and a commercial) that the inventor of a successful piece of educational apparatus should receive some financial reward for his labours, just as does the inventor in the industrial world. Perhaps the chief service—and it is a great one—that Dottoressa Montessori has rendered to modern education has been best expressed by a certain wise lady-principal of a famous training college: "She has once again taken the child from the artificial schoolroom atmosphere and presented him to us to be seen and studied afresh in his original, natural form." The teacher who has been trained to apply the methods of Frœbel in the spirit of the master should, with sympathetic discrimination, be able to find much in the system of Madame Montessori to add to her existing equipment, thus rendering it as nearly perfect as any equipment can ever be.

Professor John Dewey, of Chicago, has written a great deal about the problems of education chiefly from the social point of view. He sees that in the past there was no common purpose in the schools which was capable of vitalising them as he knew them, for schools cannot be organised as living

communities, as he sees, merely on the basis of instruction and examination. In Dewey's views, schools should be a reflection of social activities and movements; they should be in every case societies in miniature. There should be introduced into them, then, some such decidedly life-like activities as manual training in the principal occupations of adult life, in shop work, and in the household arts and crafts, since the radical reason that the school cannot organise itself as a natural social unit is just because this element of common and productive activity is absent.

In these occupations children can help one another directly, and criticise one another freely, whereas in the average school it is considered wrong for one child to help another. Discipline, too, is seen to have its uses during active occupations. Moreover, through active occupations the entire spirit of the school is renewed: it has a chance to affiliate itself with life. Dewey has organised schools in accordance with his theory and proved them workable. The handwork movement, in existence to-day in England, owes much to him.

In his concern for the social adaptation of the child, Dewey does not altogether overlook the need for the "full flowering of individuality"; rather it is his aim to serve both the needs of society and the needs of the individual. The curriculum, for example, is directly moulded to the needs both of the growing child and his immediate pleasures, and also to his future social career. Indeed, one may say that he has more discriminating respect for individuality than the individualists, for whereas with the individualistic predecessors of Dewey

there was a tendency to aim at the development of the separate faculties of the mind—the memory, the judgment, etc.—with Dewey, as with Seguin, the main concern is always to get the total personality into action, to develop the individual by leading him to use all his faculties together in the active pursuit of an end of recognised value. According to the Dewey point of view, the mind is literally hand-made, that is, the child learns to organise his thinking directly through his active manual occupations. Whether this is strictly true we cannot here say. Since manual dexterity seems, according to experimental evidence, to be a special aptitude which is not directly related to general intelligence, and may exist in a high degree when the latter is of poor quality, or in a low degree when the latter is of high quality, we feel inclined to say that the statement contains an element of exaggeration. But further research is necessary.

What is quite true, of course, is that the child is naturally active mentally and physically and compelled by the nature within him to translate all his images into movement. But since the man-made world is not a place where children can do as they like, it is necessary to provide special types of environment, and as many types of environment as possible, where the child can try out his fleeting and varying ideas. And when manual occupations of a rich variety become the medium of education, these will ensure the additional social advantage that there will be greater chances for children to discover before leaving school just what kind of life suits them best.

Dewey does not neglect the humanities even if

he is inclined to lay such great emphasis upon occupational subjects. Since what we understand as the liberal studies helps us to adapt ourselves to society effectively, these too, have their uses, but the child's nature, in Dewey's view, dictates to us the selection of active occupations as the principal means of educating him successfully.

Mr. Benchara Branford exemplifies, we think, the current movement towards the synthesis of studies. He sees the sources of culture to be threefold: humanity itself, the occupations of humanity, and nature; and the corresponding instruments of culture to be language (including music and literature), the arts and crafts and the natural sciences. The teacher for whom the times call urgently needs, therefore, to be a humanist and more than a humanist: he will be a language-humanist, a craft-humanist, or a nature-humanist. Mr. Branford holds, moreover, that the intelligence by which the child develops takes three characteristic forms: in its subconscious form it is *instinct*, in its normally conscious form it is *intellect*, while in its mystical, superconscious form it is *intuition;* and each of these forms passes continuously and insensibly into the neighbouring one.[1]

"In the babe sleep the seeds of all the passions, each but the differing manifestation of that primal desire, or Eros (ancestor of all the gods and goddesses), that would clasp no less than the Universe in its tiny fist.

"Six large periods or stages has this babe normally to traverse, each marked by a special passion, whose due co-operation with life is essential to its fulness, and whose extremes, in excess or in defect, are gravely injurious to its welfare.

[1] See *Janus and Vesta*, Chaps. XII and XIV.

"Tentative as our observations must needs be in a study so oriented, and particularly limited by our masculine sex—for the feminine heart sees with deeper intuition into the passions of humanity—we have nevertheless striven to select the great passions that are equally common to all, though their distribution amongst life's periods may vary from life to life and sex to sex, both in their intensity and the order of their development.

1. Hunger

"The period of man's childhood Nature would seem to design for the growth and mastery of our wonderful material frame, and the beautiful ordering of its manifold physical energies, mechanical, electrical, chemical, thermodynamic, acoustic, and optical. To this fundamental end food from the external world is necessary; the dominant passion is *hunger*.

"For the learning of the manipulation of its resulting energies, the child seeks experience with nature as material. Hence the function of play and craft work, with simple intuitions of the underlying elemental laws of nature. In the frame of the child are the potential models of all human inventions, of language pre-eminently; but co-operative experience with great external Nature is indispensable alike to their due development within the body, and the actual manifested counterparts of them externally as inventions and devices, each stimulating the growth of the other.

"To this primal passion of hunger are attached many important secondary passions, which space forbids us here to consider (as anger and thirst). Likewise is it with the dominant passion of each period of life.

"The positive extreme of hunger is *greed*, which may enfeeble life, or bring it to untimely end. '*His grave is dug by the glutton's teeth!*' Or it may poison the springs of future happiness by gradual transformation into the extremes of other passions as they come to birth and grow into maturity. It is a quality of hunger, this first matured of the passions, not only to maintain itself, but to beget other passions as life advances; and likewise its vice of greed begets other vices.

"The negative extreme of hunger is simply its absence; but as all negatives reduce activity to a low ebb, with similar results, we may briefly bring under the general term *apathy* (or defect of passion), the negative extremes of every single passion. Pro-

foundly interesting and important though this aspect of the subject is, want of space forbids its further discussion here, save for the well-founded observation that the *master passion* of life (subsequently to be touched upon) is ever potent enough, under adequate motive to recreate any other dying passions into fresh life from its own mysterious store of energy, material and spiritual.

2. Love

"The morning of life mounts into adolescence, wherein Nature's Great Design is revealed in more expansive richness.

"The sane and healthy egoism of the child enlarges, and unites with the altruism of the racial instinct, and the beautifully artistic mechanism of childhood becomes the home of an equally perfected organism, male or female, ripened by the passion of *love* for the visible continuation of the race.

"To this end, in addition to the artistic crafts, the arts of reproductive life in field and fold, forest and fish craft, form Nature's external school; while man's own inner spiritual traditions supply the underlying knowledge in those biological sciences whose central pith and core are the great principles of rational classification (or logic), and an ordered hierarchy, the very roots of harmonious organisation.

"Further, chivalry itself, the gentle craft of the 'cheval' (horse) is the generalised spirit of noble alliance with the cultured animal blossoming in the heart of man, and transfiguring the sexual desire of youth and maid into the uplifting passion of love, with heightening of all noble actions of life.

"But here awaits man the demon of *lust*, whose spendthrift cheques upon life's capital are at length returned dishonoured.

3. Ambition

"Life's sun stands now at its zenith, as maturity is reached.

"The family is founded in marriage; the second generation is born.

"The individual, first a perfect mechanism, and a unique work of beauty divine, then a ripe and noble animal in duality, now becomes fully humanised in the trinity of the family, Nature in her supreme perfected social dress.

"Now is exalted the passion of *ambition*, expressing itself in countless shapes, but all alike subserving the end of livelihood as the projection into the great social world of the passion for power and the possession of the instruments by which the native genius of each can reveal itself, with resultant rewards in inner satisfaction of soul and outer property in all desirable things of this world.

"Family craft develops into folkcraft, or civic service, whose science is now known as sociology.

"What fiend tempts man to destruction in this stage of life's pilgrimage? That unbridled hunger and lust for power that sinks into *megalomania*, begetting deceit, cruelty and insolence, enslaving ourselves and others, leading by gradual and inexorable stages to downfall and ruin.

4. The Spiritual Passions: Duty, Wisdom and Beauty

"Half of life's course is now run. As the measure of our faithfulness and obedience in the service of Nature, so will be the degree of perfection with which she will have realised her great design and fashioned us into the natural man complete, rewarding us with those temporal possessions and instruments, within ourselves and in the world without, by which we may continue to express our character and extend our activities.

"But man is more than a natural and finite creature. Increasingly will he now apprehend the divine in his personality, an element supernatural and infinite.

"In obedience to this his awakening apprehension, great Nature, who schooled him before, now becomes increasingly his pupil, remouldable by his spirit.

"And as man grows into the noble Master his own modesty wins added depth.

"Thus may each pass into the second half of life, the dominantly spiritual, sometimes breaking suddenly with the first half as in *conversion*, sometimes in quiet continuity therewith.

"The great natural passions of hunger, sexual desire, and ambition, with their attendant satellites, should now have become disciplined and loyal allies, happy ministers of our legitimate natural needs, yet steadily and successively diminishing from their whilom importance as natural forces, and gradually transforming

themselves into supernatural activities of the spirit under the creative inspiration of the divine in each personality.

"Transcending patiently his own finite limitations, the man natural becomes transfigured gradually into the man supernatural. Our very failures in the past are stepping-stones to future lofty achievements of the spirit; second only to the illumination of joy, our sufferings and sorrows are our greatest teachers.

"Dante clearly shows us how we may now gradually replace our passion for those temporal things that, being ours, we cannot share with others, by those spiritual possessions that sharing and communicating with others does but magnify in measure and exalt in value.

5. Duty

"Here, then, begins mid-life, creating from the man human the man superhuman, transmuting the energies of ambition for power into the passion for altruistic service (unrewarded by man it may be), and ministration unto the helpless, the weak, and the suffering, impelled by a divine compassion and sympathy, themselves, rootedly *the suffering along with others*, pre-eminently awakened by our own children.

"Such is the instinct of *duty* at its highest, the passion for holiness, guided by those great exemplars of the race, the saints of all ages and climes, whose lives are the lights of that once great theme of theology, soon again to arise in new splendour.

"But here must we be ever on our guard against the vice of *pride*, deemed the deadliest of all vices by our ancestors; pride so bottomless a spirit of evil that could one overcome all pride there would spring up fresh pride in the achievement.

6. Wisdom

"The sun of life has now long passed its zenith and evening draws near: mid-life passes into senescence, whose dominant passion is for *wisdom*, lighting up the past, illuminating the present, throwing a steady glow into the future.

"And if holiness is superhuman in that its achievement transcends our finite humanity, so is true wisdom superorganic in that its achievement transcends our finiteness of life. Man's experience of life prepares him now for renewed study of divine philosophy.

"With what evil spirit must wisdom ever contend? The passion of *vanity:* so subtle a spirit as to tempt wisdom herself into folly!

"Let the passion for holiness, then, be founded on an abiding faith in humility, and the passion for wisdom walk hand in hand with the perennial simplicity of the child in each.

7. Beauty

"The sun of life is setting; old age approaches with its dominant spiritual passion for *beauty*, listening to the divine music of the spheres, *conciliating and harmonising life with all its passions into a unity that shall pass uniquely back into the universal divine from whose heart it came.*

"And thus as mid-life may transcend the human and senescence the organic, so may the eld transfigure our material frame of very dust by the supermaterial spirit, which is beauty.

"Here culminates Man as the artist, each of his own life, in that final stage where activity ceases, for contemplation and creation are now one.

"In this period reveal their supreme beauty alike the sublimities of Nature in great things and small, and the grand artistic works of Man.

"Can the spirit of evil tempt even in this last stage of the long journey?

"Here emerges the most fatal allurement of all, the passion of *avarice*, that ugliest of all the vices, because it is the very denial of all spiritual beauty.

"Avarice would cling to the finite and to length of days merely to gloat over old riches and heap up new, rejecting the consoling spirit of resignation of the temporal for the beauty of the eternal; and, by strange irony, at times enslaved by gnawing desire for mere selfish possession of the priceless works of departed masters and creators of beauty, whether of pictures or poems, statuary or jewels.

8. Maxims

"In six single-worded maxims, the conduct of life through its six great successive conscious periods may then be briefly outlined: *Energise, vitalise, humanise: compassionate, illuminate, harmonise.*

"We have given but a faint picture of the rich mystery of life's great passions.

"Fusing all these creative instincts together, for good or evil, throughout life, stands out the *master passion* of each, as of gluttony with the gourmand, lust with the rake, power with the despot, duty with the saint, truth with the philosopher, and beauty with the poet. For, as the child is the father of the man, or the mother of the woman, so is every passion in every other, and all are but forms, temporal or spiritual, of the primal passion of hunger, whether it be for bread or for righteousness, for property or for justice, for health or for love.

"So, too, does each period of life use all the instruments of education of the others, each to the degree of its comprehension, for education is one and lifelong. *Moreover, life's daily curve should reflect life's whole span.*

9. Resignation and Joy

"A strange quality of life we touch on finally. It is a hard saying, but ancient and true, that while temporal riches and possessions, and the pleasures that are their natural fellows, may all be bought at a price (sometimes of life itself!), yet the abiding spiritualities cannot be found for the seeking—neither holiness, nor wisdom, nor beauty, nor the joy that is their spiritual twin (for ultimately all three are found to be one).

"*Unwelcome strangers in the night they come, treading softly in silence; but when the day of consciousness dawns they take wings and flee away, though in the unplumbed deeps of our soul something priceless remains as the fruit of their fleeting stay.*

"By a mystery of the universe, the moment a man has come permanently to believe that he has achieved holiness, possesses wisdom, or has created beauty, from that moment their spirit departs in sadness and compassion from him, and leaves him finally an increasing prey to hypocrisy, ignorance and ugliness.

"For these great things and divine of the spirit are in ourselves supersensible; in others we can apprehend them; but, to offer us the gift of abiding humility, their existence in ourselves we cannot see.

"The eye of goodness is as the natural eye, ever turned outwards and blind to itself.

"The eye of conscience, in its apprehension of evil, is, on the

contrary, directable at will within or without; Janus-like, it has two faces.

"Thus it is that even to the moment of his death the saint fears and feels he is the greatest of sinners, the sage that he is the simplest of fools, the artist that his finest creations have been but pinchbeck and tinsel. '*The labour mine; the judgment Thine, Thou Light of all the days.*'

"Where, then, do we stand? In what do we live, and move, and have our being?

"In the spiritual *love* that looks for no return, yet, being measureless, gives itself without measure, perennially, in humble obedience to the laws of our finite nature, material, living, and human.

"Herein, as unsought bye-product of our manifold and rich activities of soul and body, we find true *joy*, *the happiness of the spirit;* and therewith all good things needful for us, with due length of days, are added unto our lives, so long as we make these not the prime object of our search and work.

"Here is neither pessimism nor optimism. Between the poles of these extreme moods man's life has a spaciousness adequate to all things—an indefinite range of conduct without assignable limits, yet not infinite.

10. The Scala Sancta

"*To the height of our ascension, as to the depth of our fall, no definite limits are set; for the Divine in each of us ensures that we sink not into utter nothingness, while our finiteness forbids the achievement of perfection.*

"In its immortality the life of Man is an eternal pilgrimage up the *scala sancta* towards a blissful perfection that in its infinitude is unattainable."[1]

Since Mr. Branford's views on the development of human life will form an excellent introduction to the next section of our book we have ventured to quote the above passages from some recent work of his.

[1] Originally published, as "A Map of Life," in the *Teacher's World*, February 1917, with reservation of copyright.

PART III

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER I

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

Just as every system of education presupposes a philosophy of some kind, so every educational method is based on some kind of psychology. The psychology like the philosophy may be good, bad, or indifferent, but underlying all our educational practice, there is, nevertheless, this substratum of a more or less reasoned theory of human nature upon which it is based. To those teachers who are impatient of theory, and feel that they can get along very well without it, we feel inclined always to put some such simple searching question as the following, which generally reveals their weakness: "What is this factor, or quality, or what-not, called *intelligence* which you aim at developing?"

This is, indeed, a master question which makes havoc of all but the soundest systems. The answer leaves its ineffaceable mark on every method, old and new. Thus, the curriculum of one particular school would force us to believe that intelligence is chiefly memory, of another that it is nothing but the power of adjusting attention, of another that it is the ability to analyse and resynthesise the

elements of knowledge, of another that it is comprehension or apprehension, and so on.

In the same way we may observe from the practice of unphilosophic schoolmasters what they imagine to be the directing and controlling motives of children, and note the variety in their opinions.

A well-founded system of education must be based upon something better than opinion, that is, on a sound philosophy; and every reformer of method must be sure that his practice squares with the unchanging facts of human nature, that is, he must possess a psychology. When these two fundamental considerations are thoroughly understood we shall have witnessed the last of those types of reform which are the outcome of a mere revulsion of taste, or a change of opinion.

A close survey of the educational theory of the past will reveal the fact that the educationist has been seriously handicapped through the immaturity of the science upon which he must, perforce, depend for a comprehensive knowledge of human nature; for this science, psychology, has scarcely emerged, even yet, from its chrysalis stage.

We have already pointed out that the teacher, in so far as he has attempted a rigorous psychological analysis of his data, has attended too exclusively to the processes of individual instruction and individual intellection. The whole problem of learning and of teaching has been tackled as though the one thing needful to discover is just how the mechanism works by which new ideas enter into a working relationship with others in the individual mind, how they should be presented in order that they may best be apprehended, how they may be analysed to secure perfect

assimilation, etc. Much extremely valuable work has been done in this connection, but we can see clearly to-day that we need to know not only how the mechanism works, but also how to set it working on new problems, and how to re-start it when it stops. In this connection modern psychology can supply the teacher with invaluable aid.

Still it must be confessed that the educational psychology, which we possess already, is concerned too much with the intellectual processes of sensation, perception, ideation, conception, imagination, abstraction, and the like, and too little with the equally important instinctive and emotional processes out of which the fully enlightened will develops; and the latter are essentially processes characteristic of group-life, it should be noted. Thus in the latest (1919) edition of his admirable book, *Experimental Education*, Mr. Robert Rusk, who may be taken to represent the present-day educational psychologist at his best, states that the traditional pedagogy cannot be termed scientific, for when it relied wholly upon experience it accepted experience without attaining to principles, and when it formulated principles it did so without verifying them. The new pedagogy which Mr. Robert Rusk so ably represents is essentially scientific. Its still unduly limited scope may be gathered from the following quotation. (For Experimental Education the reader should understand Experimental Psychology as applied to educational problems.)

"The subject includes the physical and mental development of the child, and the discovery and improvement of appropriate means of measuring such development. In addition to weighing and

measuring the child, Experimental Education treats of sensory acuity and sensory discrimination, the types of observation, the various forms of memory, the nature of the child's visual imagery, and the part which such imagery plays in the child's thinking. It even attempts to estimate quantitatively a function so complex as general intelligence, and one so subtle as suggestibility. The individual differences in children, disclosed by investigation in these directions, together with the extent to which intellectual and moral differences are dependent on the original nature of the child, and the limitations which such endowment sets to the work of education —all provide fruitful fields of inquiry. The most economical modes of learning, the fatigue involved in various forms of mental work, and the effect of school organisation on the child, form a special section, and the psychological efforts of the child in the various school subjects—reading, writing, etc.—is also a branch of Experimental Education of great importance." [1]

Here we certainly have the matter of individual emotional and ethical development mentioned, but the field of reference could very well be extended. Moreover, there is nothing in Mr. Rusk's book, not in any other similar book, which would lead us to suppose that the experimental educationist would regard as tremendously significant the social factors which play a part in this development. The explanation is simple. The psychologist who has endeavoured to map out scientifically and explore the domain of human nature has had to be content with humble beginnings. He has taken as a

[1] *Experimental Education.*

beginning the realms of the senses and the reactive intellect, and has made a certain amount of headway there in his investigations, but his undiscriminating followers have assumed that the whole field was being covered.

More still remains to be done than has already been done. The creative intelligence which sets its own problems and solves them remains unprobed, while intuition, and the emotions and instincts are practically beyond the scope of sure analysis even yet. It is still the cognitive rather than the conative and affective aspects of individual development which are emphasised by such experimentalists as Mr. Rusk, admirable though his summary of the work done already may be. There is, however, one very significant addition to the most recent edition of Mr. Rusk's book which proves to us that we may not be altogether wrong in thinking that our present essay may help a little to fill the place which is gradually but surely being prepared for our subject in the meditations of the modern teacher. The addition we mention is a brief reference to the work of Dr. McDougall on the instincts and their influence on mental development, a subject so ably outlined in his *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1908).

It is clearly the instinctive-emotional social reactions which mark most decisively the first appearances of personality; in purposive behaviour we see the central phenomena of mental growth. And these purposive reactions show personality developing not *in vacuo* but in the activities and rivalries of group-life.

The attempt to develop the intellect apart from the will is futile; in the normal individual they

develop side by side, as it were. In healthy vigorous life new situations are continually arising and new needs expressing themselves, and it is the function of the intellect to interpret these things as a challenge, and to plan a better adaptation to the environment, either through the re-adjustment of the external factors of life, or of the individual himself. The more continually there appear at the conscious surface of the mind vitalised motives and creative purposes, the more continually will the intellect be kept busy in this task of planning re-adjustments. In the training of the young it is imperatively necessarily that the environment should be varied within wide limits, that there should be allowed due scope for the functioning of both the purposive and the intellectual activities. Situations should be contrived, if they do not occur naturally, which make strong appeals to impulse, but in such a way that stereotyped unreasoning response needs to be avoided, the intellect being set to work, rather, in securing more satisfactory, or what we may call higher types of adaptation. Now we realise that no intellectual operation takes place worthy of the name, that there is no living attention, no adequate discrimination, no intimate knowledge of objects or persons, except when it is necessary to bring about a *re*-adjustment of the pupil to his environment : learning is always associated with the *re*-organisation and *re*-orientation of our modes of behaviour.

What must be avoided in early life is the creation by habit of undesirable paths of low resistance to the outflow of emotion, such that, for example, every difficulty will awaken the desire to cry out

for help, and every dangerous situation arouse fear. Many of the neurotics among us have developed their psychic troubles mainly through the canalisation of their affection in very early life into blind-alley courses which through constant use became permanent and indispensable outlets for feeling. Between them the over-fond and over-strict parents have kept the world fully supplied with people who cannot be reckoned on to play a useful part in emergencies, because, threatened with danger and difficulty, their offspring revert by habit to their fundamental life-mood either of dependence on others or of apologetic inferiority. "The essential thing in the development of the personality is to forge ahead on the straight and narrow path, slowly perhaps, but surely, consistently, constructively. At each point along the path we are in danger of being side-tracked, or of tarrying too long. We may be side-tracked by an unfortunate environment; if our energies flag we are threatened with fixation. Both of these dangers may be passed, but in later life, if for any reason introversion or repression take place, these old ways may become reanimated." [1]

Let us glance in the briefest possible manner from the psychic point of view at the evolution of purposive behaviour. The lowest types of life are characterised by two fundamental activities of a mechanical kind, or "tropisms," which we may call attraction and repulsion in the presence of adequate stimuli. Later in the march of evolution the part played by life becomes more active and spontaneous, and it is then that that attraction and repulsion begin to bear the marks of behaviour, and may,

[1] W. A. White, *Mechanisms of Character Formation.*

therefore, fitly be called appetition and aversion. It may be useful to refer to the life-force, the *élan vital*, or the vital impulse, as the *hormé* (Jung) or as the *libido*[1]—a term introduced by Freud to denote the indiscriminating pleasure-seeking nature of its primitive manifestations. This life-force may be viewed as taking on two different positive forms of expression; there is the nutritive *hormé* which contents itself with building up the vital reserves, and there is the distributive *libido* which gets rid of them. When the life-force is on its defence there appear, too, the aversive tendencies: pure aversion (or disgust), and fear (of which self-abasement and modesty are the more refined and much later differentiations).

As soon as the organism becomes aware that other organisms are seeking the same ends and endeavouring to avoid the same dangers, the gregarious instincts begin to develop. That is to say, the instinctive reactions of every kind become profoundly modified and take on an other-regarding character, so that under the influence of this gregariousness, or, as it is called at its highest level, social consciousness, many further differentiations of the root impulses of human nature takes place.

Thus, gregariousness, by rendering development more complex, determines to a large extent the mental growth of all the higher animals. The reader who wishes to gain an adequate idea of the extent to which gregariousness affects mental life should read Mr. Trotter's book on *The Instincts of*

[1] The *libido* is the natural will-to-reproduction. The Editor suggests *eros* as a term which may fitly describe the "sublimated" will (see diagram, p. 119): in this we concur.

the Herd in Peace and War. Mr. Trotter says in one place, "Another very striking piece of general evidence of the significance of gregariousness as no mere late acquirement is the remarkable coincidence of its occurrence with that of exceptional grades of intelligence, or the possibility of very complex reactions to environment. It can scarcely be regarded as an unmeaning accident that the dog, the horse, the ape, the elephant, and man are all social animals. The instances of the bee and the ant are the most amazing. Here the advantages of gregariousness seem actually to outweigh the most prodigious differences of structure."

The term "gregariousness," itself, like the term "social feeling" is apt to give one a misrepresentation or limited view of the nature of the factor which is the cement of society. This tendency of like natures to come together has a threefold aspect which may be regarded under the well-known categories of action, of feeling and of thought. Thus because man is a gregarious animal he experiences the threefold tendency to act like his fellows, to feel in sympathy with them, and to think the same sort of things as they do. In so far as man can successfully isolate himself from contact from his fellows this threefold tendency weakens or takes a morbid form though it will never disappear entirely in any single individual. It has been customary to regard with the greatest suspicion this herd-tendency to imitation, sympathy and suggestibility, yet nothing is more certain than that intelligence in its early stages is almost wholly dependent for its stimulus upon the gregarious tendency to imitation.

What happens when a child experiences the

tendency to imitate? Let us suppose that my small boy is watching me for the first time fastening four strips of metal together through pairs of holes by means of a set of small screws and nuts. His mind may be a complete blank at the beginning of the action, but as soon as he begins to "get the hang" of the operation his fingers begin to move and unconsciously he keeps time with me as I turn the nut with my finger and thumb. It is his nature, as it is the nature of all young children, not to be happy till he has tried the performance for himself. When he has succeeded in doing what his father did he will not only have learnt to make a new adjustment, but by stumbling upon other new arrangements of the strips, he will have learnt what is far more important, viz., the fact that he *can* learn for himself by experimental activity.

Again, "suggestibility" may be regarded as another tendency of doubtful value, but many psychologists have concluded that no intellectual progress will be made by a young child who is not suggestible. And as regards "sympathy," even in adults it is a truism that you cannot convince a man of the justice of any cause in which he is not personally interested if he is deficient in sympathy. I have elsewhere [1] quoted the opinion of Bérillon, a French investigator, to the effect that the child who is not suggestible is *not* only poorly endowed intellectually and uneducable, but also subnormal generally.

But the reader, maybe, will accept our view respecting the extremely important part which the gregarious tendencies play in education, but

[1] Frank Watts, *Echo Personalities*, p. 26.

will be inclined to ask whether it is possible that anything startling or epoch-making will ever be created by a race of imitators. If we had exhausted the list of gregarious tendencies, we should agree, but when we have mentioned the tendency to suggestibility, sympathy and imitation we have not said all that is possible about the gregarious instincts.

A factor which usually plays a great part wherever men and women congregate together, and is markedly defective among those who grow up in isolation, is the tendency to rivalry. So important is this innate impulse that Dr. McDougall has ascribed much of our own national greatness to its operation. Speaking of loosely organised races he says, "The mild Hindoo or the Burman seem relatively free from the impulse of rivalry. To men of these races such games as football seem utterly absurd and irrational, and, in fact, they are absurd and irrational for all men born without the impulse to rivalry; whereas men of warlike races, *e. g.* the Maoris, who, like our ancestors, found for many generations their chief delight in warfare, take up such games keenly and even learn very quickly to beat us at them."[1]

Those men and women who have come into close contact with the pathological forms of the impulse of rivalry, as they are seen, for example, in competitive commerce where they often give rise to practices which are subversive of morality and social order, are inclined to argue for the complete extrusion of the impulse from the schools. This attitude is intelligible but not approvable. Whatever we do, we must

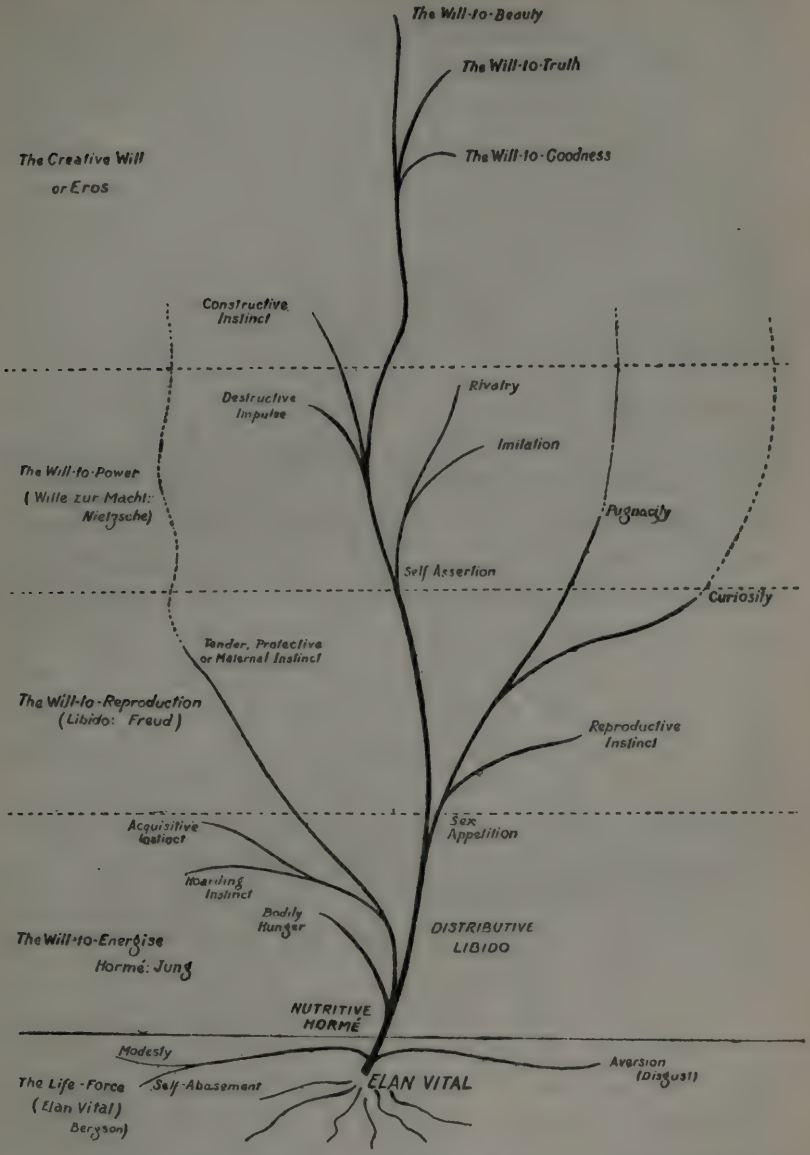
[1] *Introduction to Social Psychology.*

avoid working against the grain of human nature. If we find tendencies which we do not like we must develop and improve them instead of ignoring or attempting to destroy them, for long and bitter experience has shown that we cannot run counter to an innate impulse for long without having to pay the penalty for doing so. The abnormal psychologist can quote thousands of cases of mental disaster which have been due to such obstinacy and blindness.

The reader will be able to form some idea of the development of the instincts by a study of the diagram which we entitle "The Tree of Human Development." He should understand that in reality we can represent adequately nothing vital by a diagram; so that once he has seized the point which the diagram is intended to express he should pay no further attention to the framework of the idea he has formed.

We imagine the *élan vital* as a plant thrusting out into the environment through two main stems and being repulsed along two others. The latter phenomena we represent by the underground stems since it is the nature of the defeated life-force to seek concealment. The two stems which spread upwards we call the nutritive *hormé* (or *will-to-energise*), and the distributive *libido* respectively. It is the function of the former to conserve the vital supplies, and of the latter to spend them royally at the dictate of impulse. The underground stems represent the fugitive tendencies of fear and disgust.

An examination of the diagram will show that we have named the tender (protective) impulse as the gregarious differentiation of the nutritive *hormé*



In *play* and in *recollection* any avenue may be vitalised, and any avenue, too, may be used by a strong personality as a means of reaching the *Eros* level of culture.

through the instinct of acquisition or possession. The hoarding instinct we imagine to be a pathological form of the latter instinct. The distributive libido takes three forms. As pure sex appetition, or the *will-to-reproduction*, it becomes differentiated at the gregarious level into (1) pugnacity when it is thwarted, (2) into curiosity, and (3) into the more specific instinct of reproduction. Another form of the distributive libido is self-assertion or the *will-to-power* (ambition), which develops at the gregarious level into the impulses of imitation and rivalry; while a second form, if indeed it be a different one from the first, is the creative impulse, which at the gregarious level becomes differentiated into (1) the constructive instinct with its complemental, the destructive impulse, and (2) the impulse to spiritual expression, which differentiates into the *will-to-truth*, the *will-to-goodness*, and the *will-to-beauty*. This list, with the aversive tendencies—disgust, fear, self-abasement, and modesty—practically exhausts the more marked primary tendencies as we have them shown in the principal psychological textbooks.

For the moment we have merely stated just what we conceive them to be and suggested how they are related in development. The reader need not accept our classification and yet find still that the diagram will help him.

Dr. McDougall defined an instinct in such a way as to connect with each specific activity an equally specific emotion. Thus he would say that pugnacity is but the objective aspect of the tendency which subjectively viewed is the emotion we call anger; that curiosity has for its emotional correlate wonder; that aversion has for its emotional correlate disgust,

and so on. Unfortunately our language is as yet insufficiently expressive to enable us to do justice to this conception, and our emotional reactions not all so sufficiently clear as to enable us to give a definite name to all the perfectly characteristic feelings which go with the principal instinctive tendencies, so that it is perhaps unwise to invent words for them at the present stage of our studies. We think, too, that McDougall fails to account completely for the make-up of the impulses at the *Eros* level of culture.

An extremely valuable concept has been introduced into the study of the instinctive tendencies by Shand who speaks in his writings of the *sentiment* as an organised system of emotional tendencies. McDougall takes up the idea in his *Social Psychology* and shows how the anarchic and mutually independent instinctive tendencies may be brought under control through the formation of sentiments which are centred about some object capable of arousing emotion. Typical sentiments are love and hate. "Thus, as Shand points out," says McDougall, "when a man has acquired the sentiment of love for a person or other object, he is apt to experience tender emotion in its presence, fear or anxiety when it is in danger, anger when it is threatened, sorrow when it is lost, joy when the object prospers or is restored to him, and gratitude towards him who does good to it, and so on; and, when he hates a person, he experiences fear or anger or both on his approach, joy when that other is injured, anger when he receives favours." [1]

McDougall names reproach, jealousy, resentment,

[1] *Social Psychology.*

shame, sorrow and pity as typical sentiments, each of which involves a fusion of some of the more primary emotions. Thus reproach contains anger and tender emotion, resentment would seem to involve anger and what McDougall calls positive self-feeling (the subjective aspect of the tendency to self-assertion), while shame is apparently due to a struggle between the tendencies of self-assertion and self-abasement.

When the primary instincts function in a worthy sentiment they have a rational ground for their existence. Left to themselves they must find an outlet of some sort into expression, and this outlet is as likely to be non-serviceable as it is to be serviceable from the standpoint of the higher needs of the individual. But pugnacity, the constructive instinct, rivalry and the hoarding instinct may be safely indulged, and more than indulged, indeed they can be usefully exploited when the sentiment, for example, of love for a noble personality or a worthy institution exists.

Just as the sentiments are the outcome of the organisation of our instinctive-emotional tendencies with reference to objects or persons, so we may effect an organisation of the sentiments which results in the formation of an ideal. Here the control over the unruly instincts finds its completest expression. The gregarious instincts achieve their widest effects, for the dead and the unborn as well as the living exert an influence upon the formation of our ideals. At this point the intelligence which we have declared to be intimately connected with the functioning of the instincts receives its finest stimulus, for the fullest efficiency is secured when all the affections and preferences,

and the energies which they are capable of releasing are harnessed to the service of an ideal. We shall return to this subject in a later chapter.

It is possible, we have said, that we may learn a considerable amount about the relation of the intellectual and emotional factors which are present in personality from a study of the work of the experimental psychologist. In the past the tendency has certainly been to take the supposedly separate qualities of the mind which are to be reached through introspection and speculative analysis and to investigate them apart from the total-working personality. To-day we are beginning to see that no discoverable elements or factors exist which can be profitably investigated apart from others. We shall never know what a man is by a process of adding up his powers in memory, in imagination, in observation, and so forth. In experimental work we shall gradually see the need for dealing with the whole personality in every test, allowing free play for emotion and thought and will. The great fact, then, which is emerging, we think, from the best modern work in the subject is the final impossibility of attempting to measure the intellect apart from the will or the emotions.

It is now agreed as a result of a vast amount of experimental work among English psychologists that there is a general mental factor which functions in all intellectual performances and is responsible for the nature and degree of one's general intellectual ability. But there is an increasing body of evidence forthcoming for the belief that there is also another general mental factor which determines the nature and strength of the character traits of

each individual. It is becoming apparent, too, that these two general qualities are very intimately connected.

Those who have told us that personality may be thought of under the two aspects of intelligence and character have also drawn distinctions on the intelligence side of personality between quickness and profundity of intelligence—and the significance of this difference is as yet not deeply enough realised—and on the character side of personality between persistence and lack of persistence of motives, or stability and instability of emotional disposition. Since quickness of intelligence and emotional instability, on the one hand, have been found to go together to a certain extent, and on the other hand, profundity of intelligence and persistence of motives are usually found together, then it is quite possible that they each originate in what first appears as an undifferentiated psycho-physical disposition which is characterised by a natively determined type of vitality with a definite speed of reaction to external stimuli. The heavier, slower, sturdier type of disposition develops generally into a personality with the attributes of persistence of motives and—though not always—profundity of intelligence while the other, a lighter, keener type of vitality (often marked by a glibness and precocity which exploit the examination system on its own behalf) expresses itself through quickness of intelligence and what we sometimes call emotionality. Dr. E. Webb, in his monograph on *Character and Intelligence*, makes an interesting comparison of Newton and Bacon along the following lines :—

	Newton.	*Bacon.*
Imagination	Worked doggedly and persistently at a comparatively small region of scientific thought.	Explored the whole universe and was always "brilliant."
Intellect	Thorough; made actual discoveries in optics and mathematics.	Made brilliant suggestions — struck out many new paths but never quite the first.
Flexibility	Read very little mathematics, did his work his own way.	Essentially a time-server.
Moral Principle	Was the soul of uprightness and a reliable friend. Prudent and saving.	A spendthrift.
Emotions	Sensitive and retiring. Shunned the publication of his work.	Loved the "limelight."
Practicality	Hated business and pursued the work of a politician on principle only.	Delighted in practical affairs and shrewd in details.

Most people, we think, will be inclined to say that they themselves represent neither combination of these qualities, and more experimental evidence will be needed before we can say how firm is the ground for asserting a general relationship between profundity of intelligence and persistence of motives, on the one hand, and between quickness of intelligence and a relative instability of the emotions, on the other.

We have drawn attention to the question here merely because it illustrates the point we have already made that intelligence and character must

be studied together, and that it is hopeless to expect to be able to understand the nature of human development by reference to the processes of intellectual growth alone. The emotional and the intellectual processes are always in intimate relation with each other, and it will be our aim in this section of our book to attempt to show that the intellectual development of the individual accompanies step by step, and does not precede, nor is it independent of the emotional development. Every attempt which has so far been made to develop the intellect as a thing in itself regardless of any other aspect of the mental life has failed.

The criticism which is levelled against the school by the men of the world, who find that in the world there is a greater complexity of situations calling for adaptation on the part of the individual than the school has prepared him to expect, emphasises this point. Wherever we have a natural grouping of human beings there is produced a system of relations which makes far more demands on the individual for ready and varied adaptation than is provided by the stereotyped situations in the ordinary school. The best education is consequently a social process which takes place under the conditions so favourable to healthy growth found in spontaneously formed co-operative groups. In social life there is a constant interplay of emotional expression, and the intellect is kept busy in the task of planning and subsequently rationalising the activities which are called out by this interplay. As the emotional expression becomes more developed and more complex, so the intelligence grows and develops too. All thinking is a means to an end,

and the end is action. The practical teacher realises only too well, that his principal activities are not concerned primarily with the percepts and the concepts of the child, but with his purposive reactions. He wishes to know how to control and direct the stream of human energy which seems to him to rise and fall in the *psyché* of the individual in accordance with no clearly apparent laws. If educational theory has not up to the present enlightened him, it is because it has not sought any extensive part of its basis in the facts of group life. The practice of our best schoolmasters has in this particular been far in advance of their theory, but even here, the methods have been worked out empirically, and the English public-schools which embody the most characteristic virtues of the empirical method have often been severely criticised. It is necessary, therefore, that we should understand some of the conditions of social life which affect the appearance of such intellect-generating emotional reactions. To do this we must undertake a study of group psychology, and group psychology deals not so much with the proper classification of mental states as with the genesis and operation of the impulses and motives which are the inner springs of all human actions.

The criticism which has been urged against the public-schools amounts simply to this, that the beliefs and the practice of the public-school master, admirable as they are, have not been based upon any sound body of systematised observation and insight; that is to say, his methods cannot stand the test of remorseless scientific analysis. Yet he has taken into account the dynamic human factors

which have not yet received any large measure of attention by the theorists who are so ready to criticise him. They have offered him a perfect body of doctrine without a soul; he has generally preferred a less perfect body of doctrine for the sake of the soul which he has been able to find within it.

Happily we have been given the raw material for an experimental science of human nature in the last two decades, and the educationist of the future will find that he owes a distinct debt to Ribot, Janet, Shand, McDougall, Trotter, Freud and Jung—to name but a few of our present-day psychologists—for their deep and far-reaching analytic work into the fundamental nature of mental processes.

It is the social psychologist and the psychoanalyst of our own time who have removed the shade of reproach which haunted the traditional academic psychology. It is they who have shown not only how the mind is constituted, but how it functions and why—in society and in secret, in sickness and in health, in sorrow and in joy; why the same passions may break out into brutish expression at one moment, and flame up in heroic fashion at the next. The conviction, which we all experience at one time or another, that the conscience of the community may with wise and patient care be energised and purified to the point where all will glow in unity and vigour they can support and help us to rationalise and strengthen.

While, then, the theorist may construct his ideal pattern of the perfect educational scheme as he may; while the administrator after long and patient

deliberation may resolve how much of the ideal it may be expedient in the existing circumstances to attempt to realise; while the teacher may choose ever so warily the means whereby the fragments of the ideal may be best fitted into the structure of his own schemes, it will still be the duty of the psychologist to watch closely and decide whether the stuff which is the merchandise of all our educational dealing and dreaming—this human life-stuff out of which all our educational ideals must finally be woven—is being wisely and reverently handled; whether the frail and tender consciences of our children are being stimulated into healthy growth as a result of our activities or in danger of being unnecessarily stunted and spoilt.

CHAPTER II

THE KINDERGARTEN AGE AND BEFORE

The justification which we may adduce for including in a book ostensibly connected with school education a section dealing with the age before school entry must be this, that life being a connected whole, the success of formal education will depend largely upon the wise handling of the child by its parents and other relatives in the earliest years of life. The superficial newspaper critic who sees, as we all do, that primary education is not fulfilling the hopes originally entertained of it, is apt to overlook this deeply significant fact; the teacher, on the other hand, realises only too acutely that the child's future has in a great measure already been determined before it can be radically affected by any system of school education.

The difference between a good home influence in early life and an evil one is so marked that social reformers have often advocated the removal altogether of children from the control of parents who show so little interest or ability in handling their offspring that they do not even trouble to provide them with the bare physical minima of food, clothing and cleanliness. Experience has proved, and deliberate experiment too, that there is also a psychic minimum of affection without which the child cannot be reared, even though physical luxury

be substituted for it. Lady Beatty, for example, in administering the funds subscribed for the maintenance of the Jutland battle widows and orphans, found that, in one case, the three children of an improvident drunken mother, when sent to what was intended to be a better home in another town where they were cared for by exceedingly kind people, began to pine and become listless, and asked in the end to be allowed to return to their mother; they preferred the bed of straw with their profligate mother to their bed of down without her. This clearly illustrates our point respecting the importance of the psychic environment in the early life of the child. The home atmosphere is always unique, and it is often disastrous to anticipate the " potting-out " process of the child-plant. The child who begins life with the inestimable advantage of belonging to a good family with healthy traditions of parenthood and worthy ancestors as models for imitation has already won half the battles of his life.

The greatest disadvantage of the slum child is a psychic disadvantage. No doubt the handicap of poverty which he is obliged to suffer is a tremendous one and almost intolerable, but he suffers most through being brought up in an environment which is full of the influences which make for decadence; his elders are fighting a losing battle with life themselves, and their lack of hope eats its way early into his soul, creating all the conditions for later parasitism. Happy is the child who is enabled to spend his early years in the home where affection exists and is dispensed with discrimination, where co-operation and self-reliance are equally fostered,

where kindness and good-will prevail against impulsive self-will and where the personal patterns of conduct are an inspiration.

John Fiske, the American author of *The Excursions of an Evolutionist* and of the *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* was among the first to point out the importance for civilisation of the period of long infancy in man. He noticed that the longer the period of dependence on the parents in man and the animals the greater the subsequent pitch of development. Thus, the primitive child has a longer infancy than the higher animals, and the civilised child a longer one than the primitive child. Properly spent, a long childhood nourishes the feelings of sympathy, and softens egoism: this is its social value.

A certain disadvantage, however, is overtaking the child of Western civilisation in our own day. While reaping the advantages which accrue from the possession of highly-cultured parents, he is, in many cases, losing more and more, through the jealous seclusion in which he is reared, the opportunity of fellowship with his peers. The greatest dangers which threaten the normal development and progress of civilisation to-day are those which lie in the tendencies to restrict the family in size, and to keep the one or two children of each family too long dependent upon its parents or their substitutes. And when the parents, through misplaced fondness, overwhelm their greenhoused offspring with excessive affection, and shelter them from every wind which would bring to them the breath of the outer world, then any possibility of social progress being accelerated from efforts in this

quarter almost entirely disappears; for to foster the spirit of parasitism through over-assiduous care, to be at hand even throughout adolescence, ready to lavish advice and service upon one's children, is to destroy every opportunity which life may offer for the growth of initiative and self-reliance. The spirit of dependence will become a permanent possession, and the removal of the parents will merely cause such children to look for new sources of assistance.

The historical example of the Britons who had grown up under Roman rule points the same moral. The mere necessity to play a responsible part did not in itself create the spirit of responsibility; a training in responsibility is the best preparation for those who will later need to be responsible. The Romans took the reins of government out of the hands of the Britons, and consequently when they left this country, the Britons were obliged to call in new masters to look after their interests. It would seem as if the ship of adventure, in which all men are fated at some time to sail towards their splendid destiny, can too long remain in the infantile harbour; where the desires and impulses that should drive it outward and forward become attached too firmly to their immediate surroundings, and thus cause to be lost for ever the spirit to sail forth at all.[1]

In dealing with neurotic patients, mental specialists have found, in what are now literally countless

[1] In Belgium we are witnessing to-day a social neurosis in action; there is being exhibited a tendency motived by fear to drive out the French language from the schools and preserve the old infantilism which is based on distrust of the unfamiliar.

cases, that the malady they are called upon to grapple with represents symbolically a painful infantile experience.

It is now the well-considered opinion of such men that all children have to pass through the experiences which leave the neurotic psychically crippled. In every family there is repeated symbolically the stories of the Greek myths of Œdipus and Elektra. It will be remembered that Œdipus was fated to kill his father and marry his mother, and subsequently but not before to discover his actual relationship to them. Elektra aided and abetted her brother to kill her own mother. These stories emphasise the passion complementary to love which is stirred up whenever love is thwarted. Common experience tells us that in the family father and daughter, and mother and son are usually knit much more closely in the bonds of sympathy than father and son, and mother and daughter. The Œdipus motive—the psycho-analyst calls such a motive a "complex," defining the latter term as an idea or group of ideas invested with strong feeling and influencing behaviour unconsciously—causes the boy in early life to regard his own father jealously as a rival in the endeavour to gain the mother's undivided affection; he frequently finds his father's authority intolerable merely because it is the authority of a rival; his mother's yoke is easy and its burden light.

The Elektra complex operating in the mind of the girl in early life, though usually not nearly so powerfully, makes her a rival of her mother in the endeavour to win the chief place in the father's affections. (Sometimes an elder brother or sister

plays the parent rôle.) It is obvious that herein lies the first great crisis of life the safe passing of which the educator cannot assist, though the undiscerning critic will often enough be ready to blame him for later character traits in the child which show that it has *not* been safely passed.[1]

We may express the nature of the situation in another way by saying that in early life the child has a tendency to day-dreaming and phantasy-formation. Sooner or later he has to meet reality, and shape his thinking so that it assists him to meet life in an adequate manner. In imagination, however, he can still revive old delights and indulge forbidden tendencies. The attitude of the parents decides how deep-rooted this habit will become. Fear of one parent and over-attachment to the other which are unduly emphasised in the home which produces the neurotic are sufficient to intensify the tendency to "introversion." The life impulse then becomes unable to flow outwards into new channels; every new situation and new problem will intensify the desire for firmer attachment to the life which has already proved satisfactory, that is, the inner life where the infantile

[1] "The parental influence on children is something so well recognised and understood that to call attention to it sounds much like a banality. However, here an extraordinary discovery was made, for in tracing out the feeling and emotions of adults it became evident that this influence was paramount not only for children but for adults as well; that the entire direction of lives was determined largely—quite unconsciously by the parental associations—and that although adults, the emotional side of their nature was still infantile in type and demanded unconsciously the infantile or childish relations."—C. G. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious.*

affection for the parent of the opposite sex can be revived, and relived. The great task of the parents, therefore, is to keep the child's *libido* or life-stream free from fixation in its early years, to prevent the wearing down of channels of expression, inner or outer, which it will not subsequently be able to leave. Obviously, then, every father needs to exercise the greatest tact in dealing with his boys, as every mother should in dealing with her girls.

The psychic condition we can speak of as "infantilism" is shown in later life in many ways, some more markedly abnormal than others. Many men, for example, do not marry because they never find the complete substitute for their mothers. Others become engaged, on the spur of the moment, to women who bear some kind of unconscious resemblance to the mother-image which they have treasured up within them, and find unhappily afterwards that the resemblance extended only to superficial details. The instinctive antagonism which the young wife frequently feels towards her mother-in-law is easily accounted for, if we ascribe it to unconscious rivalry with the latter for the husband's affection. Girls, too, will often marry men who resemble their father-image. In one case, a girl who was utterly indifferent to the kind of work she took up provided she could wear a uniform was found to have her affection fixated upon her father who habitually wore the uniform of a postman in her mental images of him.

The boy who feels the hand of his father's authority heavy upon him will be influenced in other ways besides through the personal antagonism which grows up between him and his father, for all who

may unconsciously resemble the father will awaken in him that same antagonism. Thus a teacher at school may, on account of an unconscious resemblance of this kind, fail entirely to exert any beneficial influence on the boy, or, indeed, teach him anything at all well. And constant association of a timid child with a dreaded parent may fix in its mind a sense of inferiority which defies eradication. All such facts as those which we have indicated should suggest how profoundly important is the age preceding school-entry, and how essential it is for the parent to do all he can to prevent the appearance in later life of undesirable character traits by taking care lest the fixation of strongly emotionalised habits should occur, whether they be of like or dislike, shame or fear, guilt or terror.

Much can be done in the school to counteract the effect of bad early training—though perhaps it may never be enough—if the teacher will only remember that he must avoid thwarting and snubbing his boys (or she her girls), a course of conduct which will infallibly re-awaken in all its original intensity any unconscious infantile hostility which may have existed towards a feared parent. It will be impossible to force the *libido* into new channels, and command spontaneity and a creative attitude towards life-problems; tactful encouragement and discriminating praise must be the means on which the teacher will rely in his attempt to draw off the mental energy of a child from undesirable attachments.

The age at which a child may most profitably enter school has often been discussed [1] but seldom

[1] See *When Should a Child Begin School?* by W. H. Winch.

in the light of the foregoing facts. The age varies, and must vary in children in accordance with the home conditions. It is not a matter of physical structure, but a matter of the child's ability to live away from the home environment without psychic loss. Where the home is a good one—from the cultural point of view—and the only schools available are those with a method allowing the child little scope or freedom, entry will wisely be deferred till the child manifests a strong sense of boredom, which he will manifest soon enough, at the limitations of the home. Where the home is such that either the child is thwarted or over-indulged at every turn, then an early entrance even into a poor school will make little difference. It should be noted that those who advocate late entry into school are usually those who are able to provide an efficient substitute for a mediocre school.

The inference to be drawn from psycho-analytic practice is that there is a natural psychic weaning age for every child, when it should be taken from the close confinement of the home into the freer air of the school. Not only does the normal child desire sooner or later to be independent in a physical sense, *e. g.* to dress himself and manage himself generally, but also to be mentally free from the dominance of the home moods and ways. Some children—Pestalozzi, for example, as we saw—never get quite used to the world beyond the home. But though it is a mistake to tear the child away prematurely from the support of its beloved parent, it is equally a mistake to allow any child to become over-attached to a parent or guardian so that it habitually shrinks from the necessity of adapting

itself to the conditions of what at first seems an unfriendly reality. Common sense would suggest, therefore, that the process of psychic weaning should be as pleasant and gradual as possible; indeed, the schools provided for the youngest children ought to be as much like the good home as it is possible to make them. Freedom and natural movement must not be discouraged in them, except when this hinders others.

Pestalozzi and Rousseau, men who never displayed the balance and normality of the completely developed adult, disliked the average school and popularised the notion that the mother in the home is the natural educator of every child. This is partially true. Equally true is the notion, with which Pestalozzi and Rousseau would have been in hearty agreement had they been of the other sex, that the father, too, has a great value in this connection. It is quite clear to-day, however, that while the parents and the near relations play a most important part in the upbringing of the child they cannot for long replace completely and effectively the community as a whole, which provides after all the most natural environment for children.

It is in the kindergarten that the child has to learn to break away from the family moorings. Froebel worked out in the Kindergarten in an admirable manner, a method of education for younger children which ensures their development in a free atmosphere of stimulating love and companionship. Montessori, in working out the organisation of her "Children's Houses," has produced an environment which combined the advantages of the home and the ordinary school. We must

repeat, though, that the kindergarten and the "Children's Houses" are not, when functioning properly, mere substitutes for the home. It is in the interests of culture and civilisation that they should enable and do enable the child to live its life without the constantly protecting influence of the home about it. The child must learn and desire to go forward into the larger world self-reliant and capable of taking a joy in meeting and adapting himself to new situations intelligently. It will probably be found difficult to improve considerably the infants' schools or the kindergartens as we in England know them to-day, now that the beneficent influence of Froebel and Montessori have been so profoundly active.

It was formerly the custom to keep the "elementary" child in an "infants'" school till he reached the age of seven or thereabouts, and then transplant him into the entirely different atmosphere of the boys' (or girls') school. In the case of the boy the change was more abrupt than in the case of the girl because the sex of the teacher was changed. A distinct set-back in the child's progress often ensued (partly due to the recall of the father-image through the teacher's personality). It is becoming the prevailing tendency to-day to postpone the break from the kindergarten type of school environment to the age of nine, when the children themselves are readier for a big change. They have then learnt the control of movement to some extent and find, for example, sitting still for long periods less irksome than children of seven, while their desire for motor-expression has begun to take less explosive forms. Possibly the youngest

children will continue to receive kindergarten treatment, but the older children up to nine years of age will need much more systematic and more formal instruction.

Let us not forget that it is in the kindergarten and the junior schools that the children of the race have to be socialised and humanised to-day. Economic conditions are such that it is extremely difficult for parents to provide to the full the necessary facilities for developing in the home the spirit of co-operation, obedience, self-sacrifice, and sympathy. In fact, so strong is the interest which is centred in the home-sheltered child that to-day more than ever he enters the schools as a self-centred individual used to being the focus of attention and the object of much adult worship. It requires the highest degree of skill and patience on the part of the teacher to undo the work of years and teach him to become sensitive to social approval and disapproval, to prefer future satisfaction to present enjoyment, to feel that it is good to obey promptly, and to share one's privileges and advantages with others. That it is being done is all to the credit of our teachers. Where it is not being done they are not wholly to blame.

CHAPTER III

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLAY

In a previous chapter we have emphasised in a general way the importance of the play-group as a factor in individual and social development. We have described it as the nursery of virtue. In the present chapter we shall attempt to arrive at a further understanding of the play-impulse itself. One of the greatest writers upon the subject of the psychology of play, Karl Groos,[1] points out that play is the only form of education in the animal world. After many centuries of effort spent in attempts to find suitable substitutes for this animal method of education, man is beginning to realise that his own childhood nature is not so entirely different from that of the higher vertebrates as to necessitate the employment of any kind of substitute at all. The play of children is in any case quite as educative as the play of animals: in the best instances it is infinitely more educative. Pestalozzi and Froebel both saw this fact clearly, and tried deliberately to guide the play-impulse along the most productive lines of activity. Pestalozzi made the fullest use of children's imaginative games and occupations, while Froebel dramatised the work of adults and gave it a musical setting so that it

[1] Groos, *The Play of Animals.*

would appeal to the children in his kindergarten. It was natural, however, that while the great aim of the educator was the utilitarian one of providing facilities for bread-and-butter studies, the impulse to play should be regarded as hardly worthy of the serious consideration of adult human beings.

It is now generally agreed that play is not a mere aimless dissipation of energy; one has only to watch children at play to see that they display desperate earnestness as soon as they become absorbed in what they are doing. The distinction between what we call work and what we call play is undoubtedly a real one to many people, but it is only because work in our modern communities has become dehumanised that the distinction has become so real. Those men and women who can look upon their work as a life vocation do not differ essentially in their dominant attitude towards life from the children who use up every ounce of their energy in a game or pursuit which has captured their interest and imagination. The commoner ideal of life as an uninterrupted period of pleasure and leisure represents too violent a reaction from the life of toil which enslaves so many men. When we have passed through this nightmare of industrialism which still baffles the social will-to-achieve we shall aim once more at the ideal of joyous experimental constructive and creative work as the happiest method of spending our time, and such work will differ very little from the activity we call play.[1]

[1] In *Heartbreak House* Mr. Shaw puts the Victorian view of the matter very clearly. One of the characters of the play says, "A man's interest in the world is only the overflow from his

A fuller study of the nature of the play-impulse is desirable, therefore, because of its unquestioned close connection with the constructive-impulse, and the creative arts generally. Destroy the play-impulse, say some, and the hope of the world will disappear. We must try to test the truth of this belief.

There have been many attempts made to account for the presence of the play-impulse in human nature, the chief of which we shall summarise, since a better understanding of the impulse will result from their study. The first theory promulgated in modern times was that of Schiller, the great German poet, a theory later supported by Herbert Spencer [1] and illustrated in the last footnote. Schiller enunciated what is known as the "surplus energy" theory of play. He maintained that the cause of the play-activity was a spontaneous outflow of the free energy over and above what is needed for the upkeep of life. This theory would certainly seem to explain many of the commoner forms of both animal and human play. It has been objected to the Schiller theory, however, that animals and children continue to play after they are exhausted, *i. e.* when there is no surplus energy left. But this objection does not touch the real point of the theory, which is, that play *begins* only when there is an excess of energy.

interest in himself. When you are a child your vessel is not yet full; so you care for nothing but your own affairs. When you grow up, your vessel overflows, and you are a politician, a philosopher, or an explorer and adventurer. In old age the vessel dries up: there is no overflow: you are a child again."

[1] *Education.*

A more fundamental objection is the witty one which is quoted by Curtis in his *Education through Play:* the surplus-energy theory, he quotes some one as saying, no more explains play than does the bald statement explain the Sistine Madonna that Raphael painted it because he had some surplus paint. It is the particular *form* which the outflow takes which needs explanation.

Another theory which has attracted attention is the recreation theory of Lazarus.[1] According to this theory, play originates in the desire for a relief of tension: it is a reaction phenomenon. This is a theory which hardly squares with all the facts. It explains the lower types of amusement, but does not account for the spontaneity and creativeness of the best types of play.

Karl Groos, whom we have already quoted, regards play as existing because it is a means of preparation for adult life.[2] The play-impulse has a distinct survival-value, therefore, if this is true. In man it allows for the ripening of the instinctive tendencies at an age when they can be experimented with and socialised. In a more modified form this theory maintains that play provides a great stimulus to both physical and mental growth, so much so that there has been in the struggle for supremacy a natural selection of those races which have possessed the impulse in a strongly-developed form.[3]

Stanley Hall of America has more recently put

[1] *Die Reize des Spiels.* [2] *The Play of Man.*

[3] McDougall would explain play (see *Social Psychology*) as due to the functioning of the combative impulse in a modified form, *i. e.* under the control of the impulse to rivalry.

forward the recapitulatory theory of play which would account for it as due to a re-vivification of the tendencies we have inherited from our remote ancestors. It has been said that man is an omnibus in which all his ancestors ride, and certainly it would seem that many of the games of children are echoes of the habits of primitive man. As children grow up frequent marked changes occur in their play interests, and these correspond closely to the interests which characterise the various stages in the evolution of civilised man. First the child imitates, swings, climbs, rolls and bites much like the animals at play. Then later, like the savage of the primitive type he hunts, runs and throws. Next, like our wandering ancestors, he takes up play-forms involving bodily skill; he becomes venturesome, and he grows fond of pets and of collecting. Then like our more recent pastoral ancestors he becomes fond of constructive activities. Finally, the tribal games involving co-operation win his support. The recapitulatory theory is a popular theory which finds a great deal of support to-day among educationists, and many of the practices of boys' schools to-day are based upon its presumed truth.

The most modern theory of play such as is at present vaguely shadowed forth in psycho-analytic literature, but still awaits definite presentation, will indicate that the chief value of play lies in its capacity for allowing the tendencies of human nature which cannot be safely indulged in a civilised community a vicarious form of expression. Civilisation has developed faster than man's fundamental instinctive nature has changed. He still has many tendencies which he cannot adapt easily to the

conditions of present-day life. Many of these tendencies are "recapitulations" of primitive impulsiveness; many, of course, are expressive of "surplus energy."

A consideration of all these theories must reveal the importance of the impulse, as a fundamental motive of human activity. But in its effects it is equally important. From a mere physical point of view it has far-reaching effects upon men and women. Gymnastics and drill have been introduced into schools to take its place as a factor in promoting physical development, but the heavy stolid muscular type they produce cannot compete in grace and speed and adaptability with the Apollonian figure which is the product of spontaneous play. The fact that in our towns the streets lack many of those natural objects of the country which call forth healthy play activities should enforce the need not so much for gymnastics and drill as for well-organised natural playgrounds.[1] From the purely physical point of view the city child gets the stimulus for running, but not for climbing, hanging or pushing: there is the possibility of a natural physical culture of the legs, but not of the arms, chest and trunk.

In America we have witnessed in the past few decades what is often known as the playground movement. In many of the large towns properly

[1] "It is primarily for lack of this touch of first-hand rustic experience that we have forced young energy into hooliganism; or even worse, depressed it below this level. Whereas the boy-scout movement triumphantly shows that even the young hooligan needs but some living touch of active responsibility to become much of a Hermes."—Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*.

equipped playgrounds have been opened and placed under the supervision of play experts who teach group-games, folk-dances, etc., when asked to do so, and act otherwise as referees in cases of dispute. The experience which has been gained from these experiments in organising play proves conclusively that group-play can not only stimulate physical and intellectual growth, but it can also humanise and civilise. The sort of language used, for example, in the opening weeks of a new playground experiment is frequently disheartening, but in general it gradually becomes markedly improved and refined. The child is not bad by nature, but by neglect, and if his play is so organised that he can indulge harmlessly those tendencies which when baulked burst out in "criminal" activities, then there will be less work for the police and the prison-authorities. Much of the crime in civilised society is due to the restlessness of the adolescent through mal-adaptation. In him life is imperious and will not be denied. Training is considered necessary in every sphere of activity except social life itself, and yet the adolescent is turned out of the comparatively calm atmosphere of the school into the turbulent environment of the world in a vast number of cases with next to no preparation.

But the mental effects of play are exceedingly important too. Miss Reaney in her thesis[1] on the organised group-game has calculated from a considerable collection of evidence that the ability to play group-games is closely related to general intellectual ability. She found that it is on the whole true that those who excel at games possess

[1] *Brit. Journal of Psychology*, monograph.

alertness, judgment, rapidity of action and thought, endurance, resourcefulness and self-control, while those who do not play games are usually dull, slow, individualistic, morbid and self-conscious. This is what might be expected, and it should be the principal reason for the introduction of play-methods of learning into the schools.

It is unquestionable that games develop quickness and accuracy of mental and bodily adjustment, but if we are going to dwell merely on these intellectual or individualistic aspects we shall not be equipped well in any attempt to understand the point of view of those who see in our deification of games a great danger. How is it, the opponent of games will ask, that the great athletes do not, as a rule, show any marked excellence of mind? Now in the last chapter we referred to the tremendously significant distinction between quick intelligence and profound intelligence. Games are the most potent means of developing quick intelligence, but most of the great discoveries and epoch-making philosophies have come from men like Newton and Edison, of the more profound and slower type of intelligence, and games do not often call profundity of intelligence into operation. It is, therefore, essential that proficiency in games should not become the *summum bonum* of school life. The play-spirit needs to be made as much use of in the class-room as in the playing fields, and made use of in such a way that a variety of channels of expression are provided for quickness and accuracy of thought and for profundity as well.

Since Froebel pointed the way by his skilful dramatisation with musical setting of the occupa-

tions of adults for the use of the children in his kindergartens, great progress has been made in the utilisation of the play-impulse, so that we find to-day in the better schools such play activities as dancing, acting, story-telling, singing, modelling, weaving, printing, shopping, drawing, painting, etc. In addition, it is probable that in the near future every city school will have its own country camp where the children may be enabled to spend week-ends and occasional vacations, and so enlarge and fructify through play their experience of nature and the principal country-side occupations.

The country camp will prove valuable if for no other reason than that it affords a happy compromise between the life of the boarding-school and home-life. The frequent objection to the boarding-school is that it takes the child too completely out of touch with parental and other home influences in the most impressionable years of life, while the day-school too often involves a lengthening beyond necessity of the period of absolute reliance on the home, and so causes a retardation in the development of self-reliance. It certainly would seem that we have in the country camp *annexe* an ideal means of combining the advantages of the boarding-school with those of the day-school plus the home. Through its establishment, teachers will gain a deeper insight into the personalities of their pupils, and the latter will see more and more the *raison d'être* of and need for systematic order and foresight; in these ways school life will be enriched. The children in doing camp-work—cleaning, cooking, etc.—will understand better the nature of the responsibilities of their parents in organising and

sustaining the home life, and by their own activities will discover new talents and so become more useful than they were; in these ways their home life will be enriched.

The success of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements indicate plainly enough the possibilities of a systematic appeal along those lines to the play-impulse. These movements can be made supremely effective if the interest of the whole community supports them. Education committees would be well advised to purchase some of the army huts and accessories at present in the market; they would be invaluable in this connection.

An examination of our diagrammatic representation (*see* p. 119) of the principal impulses will not disclose any reference to the play-impulse. This is because the play-impulse does not restrict itself to any single channel of expression, but may appear in all in turn. It would seem as though life, when acted upon through the senses, as it were, from within the body or from without, develops certain characteristic modes of activity by way of response. In these responses life is *reactive*. But sometimes through sheer vitality and "good spirits" life flows out spontaneously into one or other of these channels of expression: it is then at play. As a result of experience man finds that in certain of those channels the joy gained outvalues that gained in others, and so a specialisation of the play-impulse takes place along these outlets: they are the ways of expression which we designate the constructive-impulse and the allied impulse of æsthetic expression.

Let us agree, then, that we have arrived at the point of acknowledging the importance of the play-

impulse in education. It may now be asked, why is it chosen for particular emphasis? What psychological reasons can be put forward for its peculiar prominence in modern educational methods?

The distinction which can be drawn between the learning which takes place through play and that which is a more formal affair is fundamental. To say that the play-method is natural and that the older methods tend to become mechanical may seem to be trifling with platitude. To say that one is spontaneous learning and the other enforced is not helpful unless we go on to prove that spontaneity is superior to force as an educational instrument.

To take up the latter point first. The most modern definitions of intelligence emphasise its creative nature. Thus Stern in 1914 wrote,[1] "Intelligence is a general capacity of an individual consciously to adjust his thinking to new requirements: it is general mental adaptability to new problems and conditions of life." Now the conceptions of education which imply that it must aim at securing training of the understanding, a disciplining of the character, and in general a well-controlled mind are conceptions which too often work out in a too great emphasis upon *reactive* mental processes. If the best intelligence is that which, as we have said, sets its own problems and solves them, then no possible substitute can be found for play, for play, supremely, is the expression of the life within in its challenging, questioning, fighting attitudes, of the life which desires new experience and demands it. Far be it from our

[1] *Psychological Methods of Testing Intelligence.*

intention to despise the necessary disciplinary exercise which the intellect must undergo; such exercise is painfully necessary. But only the best results will ensue when the goal to be reached through such exercise has been self-glimpsed in the hour of playful endeavour, and the desire spontaneously and passionately kindled to reach it.

We can view the matter in another way. The old faculty psychology taught us to regard the mind as a bundle of faculties such as reason, will, judgment, conception, observation, imagination and so on. It was supposed that certain subjects were good for the development of certain faculties, as mathematics for reasoning. This belief has lingered on, and to-day too many teachers teach those aspects of education which are supposed to appeal to just one particular mental faculty. So that as Prof. Adams quotes [1] from Lavisse, "Un fragment d'éducation s'addresse à un fragment d'écolier." The fragmentary character of knowledge is also a resultant of the common tendency of teachers to over-analyse the material to be taught before presenting it to their pupils. They give one piece at a time, and when the last piece has been assimilated, then and not before is the whole realised and appreciated. This is not the natural method of learning. The natural method is to form a vague idea of the whole, and the gradual definition of the parts follows. This is the play method, too. First come the big, loose, random movements of body and mind, and only afterward do the subtler refinements and the delicacy and skill of perfect adaptation appear.

[1] *Evolution of Educational Theory.*

Above all, in play the whole personality functions and not " un fragment d'écolier."

It would seem to be nothing but sound common sense to lay down as fundamental the following axioms.

(1) In the first place, intelligence is best seen as functioning in the creative activity of the whole personality.

(2) The obvious education for the development of this creative activity of the mind is through the exercise of the whole personality whenever possible.

(3) In play the whole personality functions spontaneously and in the creative spirit; and with variety and joy.

(4) Given the above as truths then we must rely upon properly directed play-methods to produce the most profound and stimulating results in education.

CHAPTER IV

THE CULTURE-EPOCH THEORY

The conception of the child's mind as something which undergoes development and change in quality as well as quantity has not always been fully appreciated by educators. The first systematic attempt to base teaching method upon this and upon the other fundamental facts as we know them concerning the child's mental growth, owed its origin to the Germans, Hegel and Herbart. It arose out of the recognition of the existence of a parallelism between the development of the child and that of the race. This idea was implied but not made explicit in the methods of Pestalozzi and Froebel, and was the natural consequent of their discovery of the enormous pedagogical significance of the social nature of the child. It was Tuiskon Ziller, a pupil of Herbart, who first formulated in detail what we now know as the culture-epoch theory and who showed that there is much more than a vague correspondence between individual and racial development.

The culture-epoch theory of Ziller has been severely criticised as a piece of extravagant theorising, but the most up-to-date attempts to account for the facts of the child's mental development will probably always be little more than modifications of the original theory. This theory is a further

illustration of the fact which we have insisted upon throughout these chapters, namely, that the development of the child cannot be understood if the latter is taken as a self-centred unit; the theory shows, moreover, how not only the living but how the dead, too, play their part in determining this development, for truly, as we have once before said in quoting the view of the psycho-analysts, "man is an omnibus wherein all his ancestors ride."

The keen delight of the children of the kindergarten in myths and fairy tales, the passion of the growing boy for tales of adventure of the "Odyssey" and the "Chanson de Roland" type, and the inevitable enthusiasm of the adolescent for all the latest ideas about constructive ethical, political, religious and social reform points very clearly, we think, to the general fact of parallelism.

In a previous chapter we have noted that the play of children varies with their age, and that the principal activities of the race during evolution are repeated in the games of the young. This is a piece of evidence which is frequently quoted in support of the culture-epoch theory. It has led to the regulation of school study in accordance with the outstanding characteristics of the particular epoch in miniature through which the child may be supposed to be passing. Thus we have studies, on this model, appropriate to the hunting and the fishing age, to the nomadic and shepherding age, to the age of agriculture and barter, to the age of metals and to the age of commerce. Thus it will be seen that the culture-epoch theory has the virtue through such a choice of studies of emphasising child-growth as being internally and spon-

taneously as well as externally and by necessity determined.

Ziller's own formulation of the theory and his application of it to teaching method emphasised the historical and literary aspects of culture and civilisation more than any other aspect. Like the Greeks, he saw the power of the myth and the fairy tale to mould the child's thinking and feeling processes in the early years of life.

He proposed, while Professor of Philosophy at Leipzig, that the children who attended the primary schools in Saxony should be instructed in accordance with the following scheme [1] :—

School Year.	*Age.*	*Culture Subjects.*
1	6–7	Myths and Fairy Tales.
2	7–8	The Story of Robinson Crusoe.
3	8–9	The Stories of the Bible Patriarchs.
4	9–10	The Stories of the Hebrew Judges and the Nibelungen.
5	10–11	The Stories of the Kings of Israel and of Germany.
6	11–12	The Stories of Jesus, of Christian Germany and of its First Emperors.
7	12–13	The Stories of the Apostles, of Luther, and the Reformation.
8	13–14	The Story of Luther's Catechism and of Modern Germany.

Ziller's over-rigid scheme is open to objection, and naturally many writers have expressed their dissatisfaction with it. Its most serious defect to our mind is that it tends to emphasise the products of the past at the expense of the processes of the

[1] Taken from Adamson's *Practice of Instruction.*

present. It takes away the attention of the child too far and too completely from the realities of present-day civilisation, which, after all, should mark the starting-point and the end of all educational proceedings.

Prof. J. Welton, in his *Principles and Methods of Teaching* (1909), writes by way of criticism of the theory :—

"A maxim less frequently accepted by English teachers is that the education of the child should agree in its sequence with that of the race. This has very important limitations. In his mental life the child does, indeed, bear some relation to the savage. But still more important are the differences; the child is, after all, a child, whilst the savage is an adult, and no theorising can eliminate this essential difference. Nor can any theorising negate the difference between the state of civilisation which surrounds the child, and that of ignorance and superstition which surrounds the savage. To attempt to arrange the curriculum, then, mainly under the guidance of this exaggerated parallelism in development of child and race is futile."

Professor Welton is unfortunate in his illustrations. In the first place, though he is perhaps right in saying that the child is a child and the savage is an adult, he is looking at them too clearly as physical entities. Mentally and temperamentally, however, there would appear to be far less difference between the child and the savage than between the savage and the educated civilised adult of to-day. If the child is not an adult, as Professor Welton sees, still the savage remains in most ways a child. And in contrasting the state of civilisation which surrounds

the child to-day with the ignorance which shuts up the savage within his environment as in a prison, Professor Welton ought to have remembered that though civilisation surrounds the modern child it hardly touches him: bewilderment, fetichism and phantasy are as natural to him as to the savage. In spite of Professor Welton we must say then that the culture-epoch theory gives us a basis for a curriculum more clearly and fundamentally natural than any other theory.

The modern psycho-analytic investigations in the realm of mental disturbance and disease have revealed how great is the factor of truth which lies behind the culture-epoch theory. Individual history recapitulates racial history, or in biological terms, ontogenetic development recapitulates phylogenetic development even more completely than at first we imagined: the child may really be regarded as being emotionally in the same stage of development as the savage, and his morals certainly belong to an early period of culture.

"Anthropological data," says Dr. W. A. White in his *Mechanisms of Character Formation*, "have connected the psychology of the neurotic with that of the savage, and the neurotic is an individual in whom the life-force has suffered regression to infantile modes of satisfaction. The deepest understanding of the neurotic has come through a thorough understanding of the child and the savage so that with our neurotic researches the old scepticism we may have had about the validity of the culture-epoch theory has to give way." While we do not regard the child simply as an undeveloped adult, the adult suffers regression in returning as a neurotic to child-

hood. It will have been evident to the careful reader who has followed us so far that we shall be obliged to accept the culture-epoch theory in some form or other, if we wish to remain consistent. We have already traced in rough outline the development of the principal human impulses, and noted the fact that we inherit them from our animal ancestors : we have agreed, too, that human society is a development from animal association. But more than this, we have indicated our preference for a theory of play which would ascribe the impulse to the need for gratifying in a wholesome and vicarious manner the impulses which were essential to survival in an earlier period of racial history, but which no longer are so urgently necessary in their primitive forms.

Two far-reaching streams of influence have had their fount and origin in the culture-epoch theory. In the first place, discredit has been poured upon the view that the child is an adult in miniature. We all remember the little heroes and heroines of Charles Dickens, the Oliver Twists and Little Dorrits whose perceptions in the realms of moral responsibility and emotional experience were just as exquisitely delicate and penetrating as those of the wisest adults. The culture-epoch theory has made us realise that the child is neither an adult nor an adult in miniature, and that it is a folly to expect him to behave as one, to accept the values which the adult appreciates, or to think along the same lines.

In the second place, the theory has helped us to realise the importance of history and literature as factors in the early education of the child. They

are great civilising agencies, and in the earliest years the child becomes fit for later citizenship, or not at all. No one who has appreciated the significance of the part played by the humanities in early education can have failed to suffer a sharp shock at the utter reversion of Dr. Montessori to the older utilitarian view which would entail the sacrifice of the whole for the part, and the rich culture of the humanities for the sake of efficient concrete sense training.

Herbert Spencer was the first influential English writer to apply to education the theory of parallelism between the individual and the race. Curiously enough he never saw in the play-impulses which have been quoted in support of the theory any indication of their phylogenetic origin: play was to Spencer absolutely without utility and represented nothing but the mere discharge of surplus energy. In his *Essay on Education* Spencer wrote on the general question, however: "The education of the child must accord both in mode and arrangement with the education of mankind considered historically. In other words, the genesis of knowledge in the individual must follow the same course as the genesis of knowledge in the race."

It cannot be said that Spencer improved upon Ziller's presentation of the theory. To hold Spencer's view consistently would involve a teacher in absurdities; for example, alchemy would need to be taught before chemistry, astrology before astronomy, mediæval physiology before post-Harveyan physiology, calculation in Roman numerals before calculation in Arabic notation, the melodies of primitive music before those of modern music, and so on. Spencer's other generalisation, however,

that we should proceed from the empirical to the rational is less open to criticism, but it expresses a partial truth only, since no educated man rests content with the merely rational as the *sole* good to be obtained.

We must turn to America for a better understanding of the truth underlying the culture-epoch theory. John Dewey rescued the theory when it was at the point of collapse, and gave it a reinterpretation which makes a much stronger claim upon our consideration. In conducting the experimental school attached to the University of Chicago, in which he held the professorship of education, Dewey attempted to find out in what directions the life-force in the child seeks most naturally to function, and how far these modes of functioning can be made educative in the best sense. Ziller, like Herbart, had been primarily interested in the reaction of the child's mind upon the subject-matter of *history* and *literature*: Dewey was more interested in the kinds of *practical activity* in which the child would indulge from year to year, for he saw that unless the child enters with all his energies, mental and physical, into his work and play, the best educational results cannot be hoped for from his "schooling."

In addition, then, to suitable historical and literary interests, there need to be utilised, too, the practical interests of the child in making and doing things. The several epochs of culture have each their peculiar occupations. These were introduced by Dewey into the school. Handwork of various kinds, such as weaving, cooking, printing, carpentering, etc., was made an important feature, but the

constructive impulse was utilised, too, in dramatisation, singing, debating, painting, modelling, decorating, etc. Local geography and history and industry were drawn upon for concrete illustrations of the principles of culture, and the whole course was planned in the closest connection with the facts of life, thus aiding the child to realise himself in all his potentiality through participation in the work of the family, the school, the city, the province, the community and the race.

Just as Ziller used the German folk-stories and German history in Saxony, so Dewey used many of the American stories in his school, for example, the tale of Hiawatha, which lends itself admirably to correlation with such activities as "camping-out" and country excursions. There is room in England to-day for the development of the local folk-stories as a "core" of interesting activity in the schools. It is not necessary to go to Germany or America for our illustrations: the tale of Robin Hood is one of many national tales which could be exploited in this way. (It will be noted that Ziller borrowed "Robinson Crusoe" from us.)

Expressed in language to which less objection can be taken than is meted out to the culture-epoch theory, the main practical point to be considered is that our human instincts do not all come to maturity at the same time, but that rather there is a definite sequence in their appearance and development which is much the same for us all.[1] The fact that these instincts appear and function in such an order as to recall to the observer

[1] We are mindful here of the order of development indicated on pp. 119.

the successive stages of culture through which our ancestors passed may to the sceptical appear to be more or less a coincidence. If he feels that we cannot logically prove the fact of close parallelism, there is no need for him to blind himself to the obvious utility of looking into the cultures of the past for suggestions and hints for educational use in dealing with what we think are the corresponding individual culture stages of the present. The culture-epoch theory works admirably in capable hands : that is its justification. Our main endeavour in applying it should be to remember to keep the child in close touch with the living present, and to remember that all we do is for the sake of more satisfactory adjustments of the developing creative life of the child to the conditions of its environment, and the conditions of the environment to the developing life of the child, full, rich and abundant.

CHAPTER V

THE INSTINCTS IN EDUCATION

We have sufficiently defined our point of view in preceding chapters to make it clear that we do not regard the instincts as self-contained units which can be considered fruitfully apart from the whole personality in which they function: we regard the instincts, rather, as those spontaneous reactions to environment, the nature of which is determined by the somatic and psychic constitution of the whole reacting individual. They represent intelligence still unconscious. McDougall defines an instinct, let us repeat, as "an inherited or innate psychophysical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive, and to pay attention to objects of a certain class, to experience emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or at least, to experience an impulse to such an action." [1] Whenever we speak, therefore, of an instinct we are thinking of a predetermined response of the *total* individual along certain characteristic lines; revealing an intelligence and consciousness not yet fully awake.[2]

[1] *Introduction to Social Psychology.*

[2] The fully enlightened intelligence is a fertile union of the *instinct* of McDougall, the *intellect* of H. Spencer, and the *intuition* of Bergson. Compare p. 99.

All our fundamental habits express the workings of instinct; we depend upon the instincts for our very energy and life. "Take away the instinctive dispositions," writes McDougall, "and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed, or a steam-engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces which maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will." [1]

Fundamentally, it is true, as we think McDougall would agree, that intelligence develops just in so far as our needs and passions increase and develop in complexity and refinement. So that we are attending to the secondary process instead of to the primary process when, as teachers, we devote our energies to the task of ensuring that the child's conscious logical ideas are correct and complete, the primary work being the task of seeing that the impulses and desires are developing in a healthy manner; and that the child is moving forward from preoccupation about his bodily wants and about his own finite worth to a passionate interest in the spiritual heritage which is his and all men's. Too much teaching resembles an effort to keep the water moving in a circulatory heating system before the fires have been lit. And instinct provides the fire and energy of life.

Every educational scheme worthy of the name will make it possible for us to exploit the alogical impulses and instinctive tendencies in the interests

[1] *Social Psychology.*

of a more abundant and higher type of life. From this point of view the great problem of education is, in fact, the problem of socialising and humanising the child who comes too often into the school with an unruly team of anarchic impulses. It is not the "*return to nature*" as Rousseau understood it which is the desirable thing, but an increasing emphasis upon that movement away from nature which is summed up in the terms "civilisation" and "culture," a movement which will bring him eventually into the realm of the spirit. The ability to control when necessary the natural and primitive impulses to indulge in the pleasures of hunger, sex and power,[1] is, if this be true, the real test of normality and progress.

Happily, our instincts in a majority of cases, come to maturity when we are intelligent enough to profit by all the accumulated experience of our ancestors, and are accordingly able to gauge their effects when both allowed and refused expression. Through the play impulse, moreover, we learn by experiment how to give richer and more useful expression to crude instincts and desires. Much of the old pedagogy aimed at the impossible annihilation of certain of the instinctive tendencies which were considered harmful. We have learnt now that desires and impulses cannot be annihilated; at the most they can only be refused direct and healthy expression. It is agreed to-day, moreover, that hooliganism, drunkenness, gambling, sexual vice, and crime generally are due to such improperly diverted instinct. We see only too plainly the obvious roots of the passion from which such evils

[1] See Part II, chap. iv. p. 100.

spring, but what we do not seem sufficiently to realise is that the greatest values in life are the expression of impulses coincident with the very same roots which are the source of evil.[1]

This possibility of transmuting what so many regard as base desire into the pure gold of distinctively human aspiration marks off man from the higher animals. In the lives of the latter the functioning of the instincts is comparatively fixed; in the lives of human beings this plasticity or possibility of effecting a considerable modification of primitive tendencies must be held steadily in view, for it is the condition of all progress. Thus the creature which is entirely impelled by instinct, neither modified nor rationally controlled, is like the locomotive or tramcar which must keep to the track already laid down for it: man, however, is like the motor-car which can be guided within limits into whatever routes reason may choose to steer it. Because the car has sometimes come to ruin it is no wiser to argue for the abolition of the motive power than for that of the steering apparatus: both are absolutely necessary.

Many teachers who have never read a psychological text-book are thoroughly aware of the importance of fostering healthy instinctive life. We, like them, cannot remain content with the mechanical regulation of children once we have

[1] Patrick Geddes ascribes much of the criminality of city-bred adolescents to the influence of their mal-psychic environment: "The old courage which in their fathers had faced the chances of life and mastered them through the courses of Nature now finds a main outlet in gambling; and this increasingly contaminates legitimate commerce."—*Cities in Evolution.*

appreciated the tremendous possibilities underlying their impulsive reactions for humanising and spiritualising them. We know of schools which are the models of orderliness and achievement where practically every child can turn out neat and tidy exercises in every subject provided he has been shown how to do them, but the result has been obtained at the expense of life itself. Hardly a child who leaves these schools takes with him any desire to plan and execute for himself anything in the nature of "school-work," and the acquired neatness and orderliness nearly always disappear in the absence of external compulsion. The child's instincts, which after all decide his positive activities, have found other outlets into expression.

It is generally agreed that the instinct which possesses the greatest driving force of all the instincts is the sex-instinct. It has been held responsible for more cases of insanity and crime than any other cause. Many people are positively afraid to face the problems which it raises; church history provides countless examples of men and women who have tried in vain to escape its promptings by recourse to celibacy and solitude. Obviously, then, we cannot afford to neglect it. And, moreover, by keeping the sexes apart we cannot hope to side-track it.

We consider that there exists sufficient evidence for believing that systems which unnaturally segregate the sexes during the years of growth and maturity are productive of the greatest mischief. The life of the male or female who is compelled to live entirely apart from the "opposite" sex becomes emotionally impoverished and is the seed-ground

for the cultivation of most of the pathological forms which the reproductive instinct may take.

The joyous and healthy release of the more refined forms of the emotion which has a sexual motive is necessary, but is this possible where public school, convent [1] or military barrack is the sole institution for the whole period of adolescent life? We have already pointed out that the limitations in the natural choice of the means of self-expression results in an unhealthy stereotyping of response which cripples life in the face of emergency. To shut up youth deliberately away from its natural partners of the other sex is to render this kind of stereotyped response inevitable. There are, of course, periods when the young of each sex spontaneously segregate themselves; this, too, is natural.

It is beyond question that boys and girls can be educated together successfully with equal benefits to both, but the teachers need to disbelieve in the general superiority of one sex over the other, and to perceive that each sex has its particular vocations and functions. It often comes as a shock to the boy who has been trained to despise girls, that they can do many useful things better than he can himself, and the girl who has little experience of boys finds often that her sex has no monopoly of the virtues. Co-education at frequent periods properly superintended, preferably by teachers who themselves are fathers or mothers, since they are less liable to abnormality in this connection, teaches boys and girls to have a sane respect for each other; it makes the boy modest and gentle in his strength,

[1] We must not, however, ignore the fact that nature produces life-long celibates of noble type.

and the girl self-reliant and fearless in her serenity. Brought up in the company of healthy girls for whom there has been no "exotic fostering of the senses," boys realise that, to modify Meredith's phrase, "women are meant neither to be men's Fates nor their playthings, but their comrades, their fellows, and their equals, so far as nature puts no bar to that equality."

The sex instinct, when it is not thwarted, is the mainspring of activity responsible for a large amount of the finest creative work. No other instinct is capable of finding substitute expressions of such lofty nature. The best fruits of civilisation have had their seed in the idealisation of woman, and without the same life-giving force the fine arts would languish, leaving us devoid of noble inspiration. The sublimest poetry, the sweetest music and the most graceful sculpture is, more frequently than not, but the purified expression of sex love. If we wish our youth to learn the secrets of chivalry and ideal devotion there is but one school in which they can be taught. Just a few only are gifted by nature to follow always in the footsteps of Damon and Pythias, but the vast majority find their ideals kindled through natural companionship with members of the opposite sex. Provided, therefore, that we have teachers equipped for the work, we shall find that co-education will be most beneficial.

The instinct of acquisitiveness, or possession (expressing hunger or the *will-to-live*), is one which may also play a useful part in development. From the earliest years the child displays the desire to own things, and identify them with itself. We have frequently known teachers lightly outrage the

child's feelings by confiscating his toys which are being played with at the wrong moment. The sense of justice which is hurt when they are not returned may be only a child's sense of justice, but it is nevertheless the source of the nation's strength. In nearly all the best schools children's property rights are carefully respected. Indeed, children should be allowed wherever possible to possess their own lock-up desks, their own pens and pencils, their own text-books and stationery, and, as far as possible, they should have the first claim upon any work they may do. Teachers of handicraft, for example, will agree that one of the strongest incentives to good work is the prospect of being allowed eventually to take home the piece of work which is under construction, should it be considered good enough. It is easier, as we have said before, to work with the grain of human nature than against it, and so we urge the fullest utilisation of this instinct of possession.

The hoarding instinct has been very usefully employed in teaching geography and nature study through the collection of postage stamps and nature specimens. In itself the instinct has perhaps a pathological origin: it is the instinct of possession functioning as a result of a long discipline of want and famine. It is notoriously active in animals like the squirrel which are obliged to lay by stores for the long winter months, and in human beings it is questionable whether it ought to be encouraged to express itself. Insufficient research has been made into its nature and effects. The very name "hoarding" implies, however, a moral judgment regarding it, while *avarice*, a specific

form of it, earns well-merited and universal contempt.

Another instinctive tendency which up till recently had been utilised in but the smallest degree is the instinct of construction, which in the higher animals often finds remarkable expression. Education has been so entirely a matter of receiving, analysing and classifying impressions that this instinct has atrophied, while the factories have called for so many recruits lacking any marked originality or desire to exert their constructive and creative intelligence, that education and profit-making have here walked hand in hand together happily enough. Economic theory, moreover, has helped their progress by holding up as the ideal for all of us to seek after the doubtfully blessed ideal of unlimited leisure as the end of living. We look forward to the passing of the present industrial era which makes leisure the only thing desirable. The introduction of active occupations into the schools with the consequent stimulation and development of the desire to make things and make them well must eventually deprive the factories of willing "hands" permanently divorced from thinking minds. Already the gospel of joy through creative activity is being spread abroad. Man will find his greatest and purest happiness in the work which he can plan and execute in accordance with his own spontaneous will. Joy can even be won from automatic activity after this is possible. So we say to the teacher: you are serving the high Gods and the human race in the holiest manner by stimulating your pupils to creative activity. Let them plan the work to which you have nobly urged them without being

thwarted: in it they will find their ultimate salvation. The greater the creative energy of the race, the sooner we shall learn to organise and humanise industry in a healthy manner.

The tender, protective, or parental instinct is very closely allied to the instinct of possession. It is seen early in life in tiny girls' love of their dolls, and boys, too, display it equally in their regard for pets. The kindergarten teacher is fully aware of the strength of the instinct, and grounds her strongest appeals upon it. In the older child it shows itself in solicitude for the young of both the animal and human species, and in the adolescent the burning resentment which is felt against appressors is its maturest form. The healthy child is naturally fond of pets, and no child should be allowed to grow up without some growing thing to care for and minister to, since from the functioning of the tender instinct springs whatever respect for life we may afterwards acquire.

Self-assertion is not merely the expression of surplus energy: it is a permanent tendency rooted deeply in human nature. Many parents consider to-day that in the primary schools too little expression is allowed this fundamental instinct. Where classes are large it is certainly difficult to allow children to give expression freely to their needs. In such cases where self-assertion is necessarily thwarted we find it reappearing, however, in many undesirable ways. In the past its only legitimate form of expression has been through rivalry for class positions and prizes. The spirit of self-assertion has functioned along these lines often

enough in the meanest manner, and consequently a large number of teachers favour the total abolition of prizes and marks for work. When a tendency expresses itself in an undesirable manner, however, the proper course is not to obliterate it—that is to attempt the impossible—but to give it channels of worthier expression. The rivalry which shows itself in the race for relative class position can find expression in a properly organised school in a desire to achieve excellence in something which can be objectively valued. That John should strive to get ahead of James merely to enjoy the fact of being ahead is indefensible; but that John should strive to write a better essay, make a better stool or chair, paint a better picture, or act from nobler motive is a natural and thoroughly approvable state of affairs.

It may be objected that undue self-assertion leads to unsocial conduct; still it will be true that the best way to encourage in a child respect for others as well as for himself is to show respect to him in a discriminating manner; this is all we advocate, and even this is often a difficult task for the harassed teacher with his hands continually full of urgent work. Indeed, in this connection one may well pause to utter a warning to those about to take up teaching who are not splendidly endowed with the blessings of health. In no profession does so much depend upon the possession of robust health. Neurasthenia, we imagine, is more prevalent among the teachers of large classes than among any other body of men and women. When, therefore, we urge the teacher to be careful lest he make use

continually of phrases and judgments which are an offence to the normal spirit of self-assertion in his pupils, we are mindful of the fact that they are most frequently uttered by those who have unfortunately lost the energy to struggle manfully on in buoyant serenity against the difficulties which often seem insuperable.

The instinct of self-assertion is not often seen—among scholars—in its pathological form, megalomania, but the instinct of self-abasement frequently assumes abnormal guise. The attitude of a harsh, unsympathetic teacher frequently causes the appearance of an inferiority " complex " in his pupils. We knew a teacher who was most himself when distributing broadcast to his class such epithets as " blockhead," " lunatic," or " idiot." He himself never understand why his scholars were always worse than any other teacher's, and suspected a deliberate selection of the brainless for his attention. Happily few men and women to-day resemble him. We saw, however, the natural life which he drove under cover into concealment by his bullying manner reappear in the form of bad temper, truancy, and sabotage.

There are other forms of repression which are not so obviously immoral. It is possible to dispense praise in a manner which breathes disparagement. Sir Roger de Coverley is the type for all time of the man who knows the art of " damning with faint praise." Whether he doled out his Bibles or his rebukes he took care to do it in such a way as to leave the inferiority complex stirring. The opposite tendency of mothering children too much is equally

bad, though it is on the increase to-day. Instead of attending to their tasks through a fear of the strap, children are becoming well-behaved, nicely-spoken, and neat in dress for the sake of the most trumpery rewards, and to satisfy the shallowest self-conceit. The ideals of achievement, of pride in honest manly work, and contempt for sloth and easy honours should ever be the substance with which the spirit of our children is nourished.

Closely connected with self-assertion is the instinct of pugnacity, a tendency which is unequalled in the suddenness of its appearance when the occasion requires. When the fighting spirit is aroused we frequently feel absolutely at one with life: all that has been long pent-up finds quick release and satisfaction. Envy and malice and uncharitableness are worked off, and the spirit is left clean and wholesome under such conditions. And when we speak of "fighting in a good cause" we are not speaking merely in figurative language. The instinct of pugnacity can truly find vicarious expression in ideal conflict, and the business of the teacher is to shift conflict continually upward to higher levels. To achieve his best work man needs ever to be confronted with an antagonist. Mr. W. B. Yeats in reviewing the work of certain of our greatest writers who saw nothing but brutality in conflict writes: "The strength and weight of Shakespeare, of Villon, of Dante, even of Cervantes, came from their preoccupation with evil. In Shelley, in Ruskin, in Wordsworth, who for all his formal belief was, as Blake saw, a descendant of Rousseau, there is a constant resolution to dwell upon good only; and

from this comes their lack of the sense of character, which is defined always by its defects or its incapacity—and their lack of the dramatic sense; for them human nature has lost its antagonist." [1]

The last instinctive tendency which we shall mention at this point is the instinct of curiosity. It is proverbially a thing to be ashamed of, but the proverbs, maybe, are intended merely to point out its dangers. The emotion which is its feeling-correlate is wonder, and "all philosophy begins in wonder." In his inspiring book *The Great Society* Mr. Graham Wallas expresses a firm belief in an instinct which prompts thinking, and can, therefore, be said to be the basis of the speculative activity. We think that as regards the latter question all such activity can be accounted for by the operation of the instinct of curiosity in its refined form. Yet if our attitude is correct, thinking is a general activity which results from the operation of every instinct; it is instinct's superlative tool for the achievement of its ends. Nay, more, at certain periods of life it may be said that the instinct for truth, or wisdom, is the master passion.[2]

It is difficult to lead curiosity in the path of refinement if one's habit is to snub the curious child upon every occasion. Yet in this instinct the teacher finds ready for service an excellent and willing guide ready to conduct his pupils through the most tortuous labyrinths of the realm of nature, animate and inanimate. It is highly improbable that the greatest scientist is ever without an exceedingly strong share of this tendency

[1] *Irish Statesman.* [2] See p. 103.

to curiosity, for it is the greatest driving-force which the spirit of investigation can enlist in its support. The fact that curiosity is aroused most quickly when movement is taking place is a further illustration of the fundamental rightness of the modern tendency to introduce activity into the schools. It explains, too, in part, the astonishing popularity of the cinema.

We have dealt briefly enough with some of the instinctive manifestations of life. Until we get down to direct dealing with them we shall never know how our educational work is progressing, and we shall be finally unable to say with any certainty of being believed by more than a fraction of the population whether health or disease predominates in the mind politic. Before the war, our preachers and teachers, whose duty it was to raise up the drooping spirit and restore the fallen hope, and our leaders in finance and industry who dwelt aloof from the world in constant dread lest they should catch an odour of the putrid breath of the moral plague which was said to exist somewhere below them, could, with notable exceptions, do nothing other than echo pathetically the midnight verdict of the Leicester Square sociologists, who declared that the end of all good things was surely at hand, that Nature in her brightest moods was still very much like Penelope of old, at the same base deceptions, weaving for the delight of one generation a splendid garment of promise which she never meant to complete, a bright hope which the next generation would wake to find totally unravelled again.

The religious revivals which were organised spasmodically from time to time were interpreted, perhaps correctly, as weak hysterical efforts on the part of a pathological community to recover the old poise and resiliency of spirit; they were the last desperate leaps of a repressed tendency towards the achievement of the *joie de vivre*, but no one was absolutely sure whether the ladder still went up to "Heaven from Charing Cross," no one was serenely confident that in our schools we were nursing assiduously enough the *morale* of our race.

What is urgently required is that teachers should closely watch for the characteristic manifestations of instinct in children and be able to say with what degree of refinement any one particular tendency habitually functions. Let us illustrate what we mean. In this chapter we have not dealt before with the instinct of fear because it was our purpose to use it to point our argument here. McDougall shows admirably in the chapter of his *Social Psychology* on "Volition" how the refinement of the crude instinct of fear may be brought about. He instances the case of a child who passes through the following stages of volitional development, each marking an advance on the preceding stage.

1. The child desires some food which is in a dark room, but is afraid *of the dark*.

2. The child again desires some food which is in the dark room, but this time shows fear of being punished by his father, as he was previously punished, for being afraid of the dark.

3. The child for the third time desires the

food, but this time says, "I will get it, because it will hurt my feelings to be punished for being afraid."

4. At the fourth stage the child argues, "I am not afraid of being punished in body, but I fear that my parents may *scold* me."

5. A higher form of fear of blame appears at the fifth stage when the child widens his circle of reference and says, "I will go, or other boys will think me a coward."

6. A still further refinement occurs when the child says, "I will go, for I should be ashamed for other boys to know I was afraid."

7. The highest stage is reached when the fear which is manifested is not lest he fail to secure the approval of his parents or comrades, but lest an ideal spectator of his deeds or his own critical self disapprove.

We are all liable under the stress of danger and difficulty to revert to lower levels of conduct, but it should be possible to say with some degree of accuracy what plane it is upon which the child habitually dwells.

It is a curious fact which has so far escaped attention that we have two schools of educational psychology the writers in each of which treat a single subject under different names without knowing that they are dealing with the same thing. The successors of Herbart, who have centred their attention upon the problem of interest, write books on psychology which do not contain more than an occasional passing reference to instinct. The disciples of McDougall, on the other hand, never seem to

have heard of interest—the term is even absent from the index of McDougall's own remarkable *Introduction to Social Psychology*. No wonder, then, that the teacher who has been taught to believe that his main task is to awaken worthy interest in his pupils should inquire how far attention to instinctive tendencies will help him in his work.

Now interest may be regarded as, essentially, the cognitive aspect of instinct. The squirrel is interested in nuts, the hen is interested in worms, cats are interested in mice. We are all interested in those things which appeal to our primary instincts. Moreover, we *attend* spontaneously to whatever interests us. So that once the teacher has got a firm grip of the subject of instinct he will find that he has mastered the problems of interest and attention as well. Unless we learn to appeal to the genuine mainsprings of human action all our efforts to awaken interest and secure attention will amount to no more than stirring momentarily the pleasures which novelty and excitement arouse.

It has been objected to modern pedagogy that it is soft, that it aims at making lessons pleasant and effortless for the children. This objection will not hold if we learn to appeal to the fundamental instinctive tendencies. Once these have been effectively aroused the child will turn to his tasks with something like the joy of battle which the warriors of olden time displayed. The new aspect in which we see interest is, therefore, that which shows it to be an activity of the mind; not a condition akin to the rippling of the water on the surface of a

pond, but something like the stirring which takes place in the depths of a mighty river. So we should say to the teacher who claims that his lessons are interesting, "What have they inspired your scholars to *do?*"

CHAPTER VI

THE SUBLIMATION OF THE PRIMARY TENDENCIES

When speaking of the reactions of the individual to the stimuli of his environment we have referred in passing to the "stereotyping of response" which often occurs. Lest the careful reader should have gathered from our remarks that we regard this process as something in itself to be avoided at all costs if satisfactory development is to be achieved, we must at this point make it quite clear that our attitude is not so simple as this. The stereotyping of response, or, to put it in more homely terms, the formation of habits, is a process which obviously may not be wholly unserviceable. Most serviceable, indeed, in their operation through the ages have been the instinctive tendencies, which may profitably be regarded as those racial habits of response to environment now in the permanent possession of active life. Even the worst of the acquired habits of the individual may be regarded, quite justifiably from the point of view of the psychologist, who is not as such concerned with questions of right and wrong, as defence reactions to an unfavourable environment. Typical of these latter are the delinquencies of the city-bred adolescent who finds himself in surroundings that thwart and repress most of his imperative energies.

It is largely through the formation of appropriate

habits that we are enabled to rise beyond the tyranny of blind impulse into the comparative enfranchisement of rational conduct. Moreover, the deliberate fixing of good habits exercises and strengthens the individual, and finally by economising his will and mental energy frees his conscious mind for further development. On the other hand, habits may be looked upon in the way in which William James regarded them,[1] as the great fly-wheels of society regulating all our activities so that they serve and secure social ends. In short, habits may be either good or bad, and each must be considered and judged upon its own merits.

It is one of the principal functions of play, as we have already seen, to perfect through repeated practice the co-ordination of bodily and mental movements and the mechanisms underlying complex adjustments. Some writers have looked upon habit as involving nothing more than the development of such motor types of mechanical response as need nothing but the mere initiation to set them in full operation; thus, a tune or a poem, a stroke at swimming or cricket or billiards needs just to be started, and in normal circumstances it will run on of its own accord to completion. Every form of human skill, in fact, is based upon the possibility of building up such self-acting motor mechanisms.

In this chapter, however, we shall concern ourselves not so much with those habits which are almost purely mechanical in their nature, ranging, for example, from the simple reflexes like sneezing and coughing to the more complex activities such as the recital by the school child of the multiplica-

[1] See James, *Psychology* (chapter on Habit).

tion table or the Ten Commandments without a very deep grasp of the wider meanings; our attention must be concentrated, rather, upon those habits, still built up in part as they must be of mechanisms and organic tendencies of a stable nature, which manifest themselves at the social level of conduct and provide us with the means of controlling and sublimating the crude and chaotic functioning of the primary impulses. Thus, even the tone of a school or a family or club, the repartee of the streets, and the "Oxford manner" will be found to manifest when all the explainable factors have been analysed away, something indefinable and elusive which can only adequately be described as the expression of a corporate habit of some kind, emotional or intellectual, or what you will.

Let us for the present be content to define habit as the unconscious expression of mental energy through such channels of low resistance as have been worn by constant use. This description will allow us to think of habit as having a neural basis, while it is sufficiently general to cover mechanical responses and instinctive actions as well as those highly socialised human responses included under the terms courtesy, hospitality, tolerance, and the like.

Every habit which has in it any of the elements making for permanency must provide for the release of the primary impulses in some form or other. Shand was the first in modern times to show how the "sentiment," consisting as it does in the organisation of our emotional tendencies about the idea of some object or person, is able to allow expression to the primary instincts under conditions

which involve some measure of control. The reader will remember that in an earlier chapter we referred to the Shand-McDougall view of the sentiments of hate and of love, as each capable of enlisting the primary emotions in its service, so that any given situation does not call forth blind impulsive instinctive reactions indiscriminately, but just those reactions which the sentiments demand. It is as though the life currents which course through the primary impulses become linked up through the sentiment with a new circuit, at the end of which stands the object or person controlling the sentiment able to switch on whatever emotion may be required.

The sentiment may be regarded as an habitual emotional mode of reaction; it provides a path of low resistance to expression; it offers a controllable outlet for crude impulsiveness.

The Greeks realised clearly the importance of short-circuiting the primary impulses early in life, and of establishing stable social attitudes towards the problems confronting them as individuals and as communities. Between the primary instinctive tendency at the moment of its functioning on the one hand, and its natural objective on the other, they introduced into the circuit of impulse through the myth and gymnastics some worthy idea which was capable of attracting away the attention and energy of the mind into a channel of social service. Fond motherhood with its excess of affection and soft pedagogy with its easy rewards and meretricious novelties may likewise provide temporary by-paths of expression not momentarily harmful, but they are not paths which after a short experience become spontaneously sought out for their own sake by a

virile developing mind. Hence the emphasis which the Greeks laid upon the teaching of the myths of the heroes and goddesses, for they believed that by such teaching they were by some mysterious process transmuting the baser passions into the gold of patriotism, that they were detaching from their primitive interests the pugnacity, curiosity, self-assertion, and other fundamental tendencies of the child and enlisting them in the service of the city and of humanity.

A rough classification of the types of stabilised attitudes towards objects and situations may be helpful. McDougall and Shand have written of the *sentiment*, which sums up one characteristic type of attitude, largely in terms of emotion. Attitudes may equally well be viewed from the other aspects of the mental life. Thus, the attitudes which one develops and stabilises in the face of the problems of existence and of conduct may be chiefly characterised by any one of their aspects, sensory, intellectual, or emotional. It is when one's attitude takes on a highly emotionalised appearance that we say it is motived by *sentiment* or *prejudice;* that is, we believe that instinctive reaction along the lines of unreasoned feeling may be expected to follow. We speak of a sentiment as healthy, but we do not admit prejudices to be expressive of healthy feeling. The superiority which the sentiment possesses over the prejudice is due to its approval by the reason: a prejudice is an *un*reasoning predilection or opposition which may be "rationalised," *i. e.* explained as rational, by its possessor without becoming rational in itself. The strength of a prejudice lies in the support it may receive from the unconscious

tendencies of the mind which find a way out through it into expression; still, to recognise a prejudice as such, to know that we trust or distrust certain people for no explainable reason, to take strongly to or against projects without ground, is often itself sufficient to deprive this typical attitude of its unconscious support. Nevertheless, we must admit that a prejudice represents a mobilisation of some of the energies of the mind; moreover, it is teleological even if its goal is not an approvable one.

A more abnormal habit-reaction still along the lines of unreasoned feeling is represented by the "*complex*," which the psycho-analyst defines as an idea or group of ideas invested with great emotion and thrust down entirely out of consciousness. It is prejudice in its extremest form, and it is peculiarly apt to masquerade in the garb of rationality. It should be noted that prejudices, sentiments, and complexes may all provide ways out into expression for the primary instincts. They enlist each of them the same forces of the mind in their support, but subject them to very different disciplines. The sentiment marshals them into an army with a high *morale* and definite objective. Under the control of prejudice they are an undisciplined rabble which may rise to heroism, but may also fall into a condition of sheer terror. The "complex" organises them as a rebel force of outlaws which remain beyond the surveillance of the full personality.

An American psychologist, Judd, writes,[1] "each individual has his attitudes towards his acquaintances, towards his ordinary forms of experience,

[1] Judd, *Psychology*.

and these attitudes have a stability and sanction which no single disastrous result of applying the attitude can overcome. There is nowhere better illustration than in referring to those attitudes which we describe in ordinary life as one's tastes."

It is when an attitude partakes chiefly of the nature of sensory attributes that we call it a *taste*. (Of course, physical taste is not wholly sensory; it is nearly always followed and accompanied by recognition and feeling.) Thus we may say that a mental taste is a "sense" of what is appropriate, harmonious, or beautiful. Groupings of figures and dispositions of colours, for example, may be sensed through the eye as in good or bad "taste," or combinations and successions of sounds may similarly be "sensed" through the ear and instinctively judged. Generally speaking, what we call depraved tastes are found most often in company with low intelligence, and cultivated tastes most often in company with high intelligence, but in saying this we must not be thought of as regarding intelligence as co-extensive with intellectual ability.

When an attitude may be summed up chiefly in terms of intelligence we call it a *perspective*. Mental perspective is the habit of interpreting the facts of life in the light of generalisations gained from study or from experience. Thus, some one has said, "Evolution has thrown the universe into a fresh perspective," or as an illustration of the general fact that one's philosophy may be just a summing-up of the way in which one is forced by training or heredity to view life we may quote the well-worn pun: "Is life worth living?" "It depends upon the liver." Nietzsche put the same point

when he said, "Tell me a man's temperament and I will tell you his philosophy."

Bagley, the author of *Educational Values*, a book full of suggestion for teachers, writes: "It is just this conception of a mental attitude which is not to be identified with memory, and which consequently does not influence adjustment directly through a judgment process, or through the conscious application of previously acquired ideas and concepts—it is precisely this conception that educational theory needs in order to make thoroughly rational the justification of what we have termed 'general culture.' So long as control over conduct was thought to be limited on the one hand to specific habits and on the other hand to ideas, facts, and principles explicitly revived and applied, it was impossible to justify a large part of the educational curriculum, although a great many people 'felt certain' that important values were realised by the materials in question."

Tastes as representative chiefly of the sensory side of personality, *perspectives* as representative chiefly of the intellectual side of personality, and *sentiments* as representative chiefly of the emotional side of personality, may all coalesce in an expression of the completely harmonised and total working will. Such a fusion results in the appearance of a full-bodied *purpose*. Motived by a purpose we are no longer at the mercy of the blind urge from within; something from without, upon which we have learnt to set a value—like the Pole Star, the magnet, or the Graal—compels all our powers and abilities to pour themselves out royally into channels of increasing life and joy.

Finally, we must speak here of the organisation of our purposes about those master-ideas which we call *ideals*. Just as the purpose allows the primary impulses expression under disciplined control, so the ideal allows the purposes we form to function in its service and under its domination. When ideal purposes are formed we have the completest possible sublimation of the crude instincts.

It was Freud who first introduced the term "sublimation" into the discussion of this subject. The word is borrowed from the science of chemistry, and may be taken to stand for refinement. Effectively sublimated the primary instincts still function, but in such a manner as to secure the approval of the enlightened will. But effective sublimation is often difficult and is largely an unconscious affair. The world about us changes at a rapid rate. It is much more unlike the world of our animal ancestors than is our instinctive nature unlike theirs. We have not been able to develop fast enough to remain in full harmony with our environment; we are still incompletely adapted to our changing civilised life.[1] Unless education, therefore, can provide the means for the satisfactory control of our primitive tendencies, then, at any moment passion may become so strong and so anarchic as to imperil in its outburst the whole fabric of civilisation.

We have drawn attention already to the correla-

[1] Dean Inge, in a recent sermon, expressed this point thus: "The human race has been for untold thousands of years a race of tillers of the soil, of hunters, and of fighters. These are the occupations for which our organisms are adapted, and we are not acclimatised to any others."

tion of interest and instinct. When we speak of *interests* we imply much more than the mere presence of the intelligent factor in any activity. A specific interest is just as vital a form of activity as a purpose, though it is an end in itself rather than the means to an end consciously posited.

Now the problem of sublimation may be viewed in two ways. We can devote our attention to the task of helping the child to discover consciously or unconsciously more refined forms for the expression of instinct, or we may attack the problem of refinement through the development of *interests* from the stage at which they call for the playful activity of one or two mild impulses to the stage at which they call for the full force of all the instinctive tendencies of the personality.

There can be no doubt, we think, that the right educational method lies in the pursuit of the second policy. We should attend to the whole child rather than to a single type of expression characteristic of him. But interests cannot be *created* capable of absorbing all our energies. To the person who already sees plainly that the men and women who do most in life and go farthest are not always those with the best bodies or the supremely gifted minds but rather they who give full scope to their intensely vital and all-absorbing interests, we should say, "You, too, may develop power if only you will take the interests you already have and deepen and refine them by constant meditation about their value and desirability."

The child may be treated similarly. His interests must be *cultivated*, and this implies that they must

not be regarded as weeds for destruction. If, for example, I have a small boy whose one interest in life is engines, I shall be extremely stupid if I do not feed this interest in engines for all I am worth, and with the best food. I shall find that I can teach the child practically every subject under heaven if only I am skilful enough to link up my teaching with this living pulsating interest. Stories of the gradual development of the means of transport from sledge to automobile will provide him with a perspective of history; stories of how people in other lands travel without engines will introduce him to geography; songs about engines will introduce him to music; calculations about the dimensions and parts of his mechanical toys and the distances they can travel will introduce him to arithmetic; the need for repairing the broken-down toys will lead to handwork; and so on. A parent once complained that his boy could not be led to master the elements of arithmetic. Yet the child during three-quarters of his waking hours was, in his own eyes, a full-blown bus-conductor with real tickets and a bell-punch. The possibility of exploiting this interest for teaching the boy to calculate had never dawned on the parent. Our simple demands for a 1*d.*, 1½*d.*, or 2*d.* ticket and for the change from 6*d.*, 1*s.*, 2*s.*, or 2*s.* 6*d.*, however, soon opened up the field to a really successful cultivation. In the two examples quoted it will be observed that the interests are social: the interests of the child when most alert are always bound up with the corporate life about him. This is why they are ideal material for the balanced de-

velopment of the individual and social aspects of personality.

When Freud declared, therefore, that the most satisfactory sublimation of the primary impulses was to be effected unconsciously and not consciously he was speaking with strict scientific truthfulness. By the enlightened teacher the base-minded child with one or two low interests may be led quite unwittingly into ways of pleasantness and peace. What we should rejoice to see, then, in the child is not a feeble imitation, externally imposed, of the virtues of the adult, but plenty of the raw material of human nature expressing itself intensely in some form of interest.

When Dewey made active occupations the basis of his curriculum it was not solely because children most naturally express themselves through movement, but, if we understand Dewey correctly, because active occupations, by reflecting the absorbingly interesting social life which was so real a part of the child's environment, most easily and thoroughly called into being all his senses and thought, all his feeling and will.

The practical teacher has always understood this point, and has aimed at making his lessons vivid and successful by linking up his subject with the common interests of his children. What is needed to-day is a much greater effort at systematisation of the interest-appeal in teaching so that the most complete refinements of crude impulse may be secured. The difficulty which arises in class-teaching is that we have to choose a common ground of appeal which is not the best for all individually concerned.

But there *is* a common ground. Thus, to open a book of arithmetical problems for children, we may find that on the first few pages there are references to dolls, toys, pins, marbles, eggs, pears, and other common articles, to shopping, housekeeping, farming, gardening and other common activities. This is as it should be. Indeed, one feels in looking through the books and lessons which are provided for our youngest children that there is no real foundation for the complaint that our educational system is thoroughly bad. The kindergarten or junior teacher is, indeed, to-day, the one public servant who has developed to a degree approaching excellence her method and her system.

What is required urgently is the progressive development of this kind of interest, and we believe that we have indicated the way in which it will take place. It will be through the children taking a hand, themselves, in their own education. They will be allowed greater and freer choice in their school occupations; they will plan and execute their own pieces of work, and incidentally provide the teacher, since self-revelation will be fuller and franker, with better opportunities for turning interest by sheer skill and subtlety into the channels of prosperous development.

If we were investigating the work being done in our schools we should go into them with this searching inquiry. Choosing a boy or girl at random we should say, "What is this boy's prime interest, and what are you utilising for its nourishment?" A satisfactory reply about the first half-dozen or so children would be strong primâ facie evidence of

the high worth of the school. We should know at once that we were in a school where attention was being centred not in codes, regulations, and examinations (inevitable as these may all be), but in life and growth, in individuality and in social need.

CHAPTER VII

THE CURRICULUM OF STUDIES

The increasing tendency in our day towards specialisation in learning as in every other form of human equipment has led to a considerable multiplication of the subjects in the school curriculum, with the consequent crowding out of much that was formerly considered indispensable. Is there any principle, the teacher must often have enquired, which will guide him in making a choice between essential and non-essential studies, between revelant and irrelevant knowledge? Or assist him in deciding what proportion of the child's time in school should be devoted to arithmetic, to history, to science? Or enlighten him as to what differences in the curriculum the mere fact of the varying ages of children compels? Or solve for him the problem as to whether any one subject should be the central and main object of study?

Within recent years we have had many suggestions put forward for the better organisation and synthesis of the subjects of study. At first sight they appear to originate from the specialist's one-sided view of the broad question of human knowledge. Thus, literature has been designated by some as the natural medium of culture, while others have plunged into the popular handwork movement, and have developed manual occupations as the chief

feature of the education they provide. Mr. H. G. Wells some time ago expressed the opinion that history should be the staple food for the nourishment of the growing mind, while more recently Sir Sidney Low advocated the teaching of geography as the royal approach to education. A few men and women still hold that the classics alone provide the possibility of a sound culture; and, as we know, Madame Montessori would make sense-training the basis of all education and development.

The first thing which leaps to notice from among these apparently conflicting ideas is the clear fact of a fundamental agreement on the part of all the specialists about the necessity of synthesising the knowledge which the pupils gather up in the separate school subjects. Only too often at the present time the child at school gets no more than a mere patchwork of variegated information; a little history, a little grammar, a few rules of arithmetic, miscellaneous facts about physics or chemistry or botany, and so on, but rarely the idea of an intimate relationship between the various subjects, and frequently no more than a glimmering of their separate utility for practical life.

The specialist has, at the very least, a scheme for relating studies, and in this connection he is a healthy social force, for the child is apt to feel on passing into the school that he must regretfully leave the pulsating world of events and things and personalities, and content himself for an inevitable while with words and formulæ and other alien interests and topics.

The curriculum to-day must, therefore, be shaped to reflect in a comprehensive manner the active

life of the whole community so that its appeal to the child will be a stimulus of the sharpest kind. Educational vitality depends upon the closest intimacy being preserved between the interests of the child and those of his family and neighbourhood, of the city and the surrounding region, of the nation, and finally, of humanity at large. It is a modern phenomenon, entirely, that school-life should be often divorced from the current individual and social needs.

Speaking of the education of the American-Indians, Dr. Irving Miller writes: "The subject-matter of the education of the Indians was the kind of knowledge, habits, skills, and ideals which had value to them in meeting the needs of their lives as individuals and as members of the tribe. In so far as there was any such thing as education in science and religion its subject-matter also arose within the experience of the group and was strictly relevant to the meeting of their needs in understanding the mysteries of the world in which they lived, and in controlling their behaviour aright with reference to them." [1]

We are faced, then, with the task of making the school thoroughly serviceable to individual and to society in its manifold forms, but we have glimpses of the main lines of the solution of our difficulty.

We shall assume, therefore, that having seen the obvious necessity of framing the curriculum in accordance with the deepest interests and needs of social and individual life, the reader will agree that it will be as great a mistake to aim at the type of liberal education which fits a man admirably for the ideal life which he cannot live in existing cir-

[1] *Education for the Needs of Life.*

cumstances, as it is to aim at training a man to take one place efficiently and no other place in the existing social machine, neglecting the outraged humanity within him. The need of the modern nation is that every man and woman shall be able not only to live for himself but also to play a useful part in the common task of developing and enriching its corporate resources, material and mental. Utilitarian vocational training of a narrow kind will defeat this purpose. But there is agreement to-day that it should be said of no child that he ought to be trained with a view to his occupying just one particular niche in society and no other. Therefore we hold it to be unpatriotic and inhuman to give children a purely "class" education which cuts them off from the main influences of national life and culture.[1] There must not be one utterly distinct kind of education for the sons and daughters of millionaires, and another utterly distinct kind for the sons and daughters of dustmen; all must be given primarily in the interests of the community the education which fits them to perform the duties and enjoy the privileges of citizens and human beings, as well as to pursue with understanding their own specific callings.

The war has illustrated vividly for us the immense value of a ready adaptability and resourcefulness of mind which narrow training and re-

[1] The type of "class" education we have in mind is illustrated in the following quotation: "A boy of knightly birth was reared in ceremony. From his earliest childhood he learnt to look upon himself and his equals as of a different degree, and almost of a different nature, from his fellow-creatures who were not of gentle condition."—Cornish, *Chivalry*.

stricted experience tend to destroy. We must aim at perpetuating the conditions of human inventiveness and plasticity; and this will mean that we must scrutinise closely the developments in the industrial, commercial, and agricultural life of the community. There is a continually growing demand on the part of industry and commerce for the type of worker who needs not to display any personal initiative or ingenuity. Samuel Butler's vision of a race of men and women who ultimately become the slaves of the machines they tend is rapidly becoming true to life as far as a large part of our population is concerned. All the more reason and greater urgency, therefore, is there for ensuring that the valuable human qualities which cannot find an outlet in work yet remain essential to both national and individual progress, shall be given suitable opportunities for expression, lest in the hour of dire need we become unequal to withstanding the shock of emergency. It is a salutary sign that to-day the workers on all sides are developing a thirst for education, that the *Workers' Educational Association*, for example, is faced with the task of providing more classes to meet demands than it has teachers for. Incidentally, this latter movement will eventually do much to re-create teaching method, for the adult working-class student has no use for the particular kind of academician who retails by the hour the contents of text-books; the alert heckler and the duller man who, nevertheless, has the root of the matter in him will see to it, between them, that learning becomes their handmaid rather than their mistress. The teacher's common attitude of fond retrospect towards the past, and the worker's

eager attitude of hope towards the future will become a single attitude marked by respect for the past because of its power to help towards the realisation of what the future has in prospect; there will be an end to the impatient cutting adrift from all that is in the enthusiastic passion to sail forth into fresh seas and re-establish all things anew. Instead, progress will be viewed as a mighty tree with its roots fixed deep in the past.

The permanent needs of individuals, whether for themselves, or as members of the family, city, region, nation, or humanity, may be summed up very shortly. To perform the functions of an enlightened citizen adequately, an individual should possess, in addition to bodily vigour, a certain minimum of—

(1) Knowledge about the environment, physical and psychical, material and living, in which he lives;

(2) Skill in judgment, in calculation, in the use of language, both spoken and written, and in some practical art, craft, or other occupation;

(3) Corporate feeling, such, for example, as is expressed in the desire for the public good, in the attitudes of reverence towards old age and solicitude for the young, in sympathy for the needy and unfortunate, in loyalty towards the community from which he must derive whatever culture he will eventually possess, and in some form of religion.

Left to himself it is questionable whether the ordinary child will ever develop a desire to learn "long division" and the other processes of arithmetic, and such social habits as tidiness and punctuality. For when all is said and done and the

necessity for individual self-realisation has been conceded, there will always remain the duty of the community to see that the social virtues, utilities, and skills upon which order and progress depend are made to appeal to the child's sense, judgment, and feeling; in other words, he must be taught and encouraged to develop the spirit of social endeavour as well as the spirit of individual ambition.

When we have offered us, therefore, a single subject or group of cognate subjects as the sole but complete instrument of education we ought to keep in mind the various functions which the subjects of the curriculum should perform. Any single subject must of necessity reflect but a few aspects of our many-sided life, and the culture it gives must be a one-sided culture, leaving us blind to much that is vital and valuable in the vast resources of our civilisation. Nevertheless, much of the disagreement among our idealists respecting education can be resolved by a deeper study.

Now a closer examination of the points of view of the specialists will reveal generally certain common attitudes respecting the curriculum. There are, however, two possible pivots about which the whole system of studies may turn, and it would seem to be a sheer squandering of time and thought to determine which of these two pivots will be ultimately unnecessary. These two attitudes reflect fundamental differences of philosophy, and so probably of temperament, too, on the part of their owners. Thus some teachers are inclined to be preoccupied wholly with lessons on the things which the child can see and handle, while others maintain that from the outset the principal task of the teacher

is to attempt to interest the child in those symbols, literary, artistic, musical, etc., capable of representing the mysterious psychic forces which are around and within us all.

The latter type of teacher is most concerned with the social and human aspects of education, and education to him is primarily the process by which the child is taught to be of service to himself, his family, his city, his country, and through his clubs, churches, and political parties to humanity. Such a teacher centres all his instruction in the Humanities. He chooses, let us say, history as the supreme subject of education, and illustrates it by reference to literature, art, and music. Undoubtedly, the humanities have given us a great number of public-spirited men and women, and still provide inexhaustible founts of thought and inspiration.

The teacher who derives his enthusiasm from contemplation of the natural world about him makes the natural sciences, based on mathematics, the source of culture. So that we may say that the fundamental difference between the two attitudes is this: the "humanities" are concerned with men and women in their relation to other human beings, while the "natural" sciences are concerned with the world of "nature" and man's relation to it. Thus, Sir Sidney Low when he advocated making geography the pivotal subject said that the natural order of education was to proceed from familiar concrete objects, realities which should be introduced to the child as early as possible, to the abstract unfamiliar things; from a knowledge of his immediate environment to a visualisation of the whole earth as the home of men all engaged in

their diverse activities. In this way he would lay "the foundations of a large and liberal education."

A thorough knowledge of human nature will, we think, show that the problem of education must be attacked from the two main points at the same time, while the child itself through its manifold activities is making headway on its own account through practical experimental activity. That is to say, the three broad divisions of the curriculum must correspond to our classification of knowledge as relevant to (1) the humanities, (2) the natural sciences, and (3) the active occupations of men and women.

It is the fact that the child lives to a large extent in the world of fantasy in the earliest years of life, and responds most readily to instruction through stories and games, that makes the humanities all-important in the education given in the kindergarten. The fact that the material occupations and the natural sciences are subordinate in interest to human considerations and function subordinately in the service of men and women, must always be the reason for the humanities taking a prominent position in the time-table. Thus we have arrived at the point of view which is identical with that of the author of *Janus and Vesta*, viz. that "the ultimate sources of culture, distinct though not isolated, are now increasingly recognised to be three: humanity itself, the occupations of humanity, and nature; each of the three inexhaustible in interest."

Therefore we see that the extreme advocates (*a*) of handwork, (*b*) of geography, sense-training, and science, and (*c*) of history and literature, tend

to emphasise over-much their own particular branch of Knowledge. Mr. Branford in *Janus and Vesta* takes up the position with which it is difficult, we imagine, to disagree:

"(1) That all our teachers must be Humanists, to whom the individual and social blossoming of the pupil is the supreme object of their activity;

"(2) that there are three fundamental sources and instruments of culture—Language . . ., Nature, and Crafts . . .;

"(3) that every teacher should reach a reasonable standard of culture in each of the three;

"(4) finally, that every teacher should have the opportunity of developing broadly, *as a humanist*, any special talent, whether it be as Language (or Folk) Humanist, Nature Humanist, or Craft Humanist."

We should, therefore, be not far wrong in naming according to their views already quoted, Mr. H. G. Wells as a Language or Folk Humanist, Sir Sidney Low as a Nature Humanist, and Professor John Dewey as a Craft Humanist. This classification will prevent us from mistaking the views of any one of them as comprehensive and complete.

In the earliest years any sharp division between the three main subjects of the curriculum will be obscured. The fundamental educational interest at first will not be in *what* is taught, but in *how* it is taught, and the method will be largely based upon the utilisation of the play-impulse. The subject, "Games," will figure very largely upon the kindergarten time-table, and in accordance with our method already indicated we should divide the subject into Language (or Folk) Games, Nature Games, and Craft Games.

In the Language and Folk Games the objective should be the cultivation of the use of speech and of social attitudes and forms. Even games which have other more special reasons for their existence become instrumental for the Language and Folk Humanist when they involve singing and dancing. Montessori's language game is an excellent one in this connection. It involves the acting upon written instructions. Children or teacher write out instructions on papers and number them. Each child chooses a number, and must hasten quietly to the similarly numbered paper, read the instructions and act upon them. The child who chooses *zero* has to be content to do nothing. It is a game which is at once socialising and individualising in its stimulus.

The ingenious teacher will be able to devise many such games as this for the purpose of creating the desire for self-expression through language. The dramatisation of stories and nursery rhymes has the same motive: The Lion and the Unicorn, Jack and Jill, the Queen of Hearts, Tom Tom the Piper's Son, Ba Ba Black Sheep, Little Bo-Peep, Little Miss Muffit, Jack Horner, Simple Simon, and a score of other rhymes lend themselves admirably to dramatisation. These rhymes must not be regarded as oddities which have by some strange chance survived the passage of time: they are the *media* in which civilisation is enabled to carry forward from generation to generation certain well-defined social attitudes.

Under the category of nature-games are included all those games which involve counting, and the pleasurable activity of the senses. The advantage

which games possess over set exercises for the development of the senses is that not mere sense-activity or discrimination is aroused, but a recognition, in addition, of the significance of sensory differences for practical life. There is a large number of nature games, and any single list will probably be a poor one. Here we would mention Hide the Thimble, Hunt the Slipper, the detection of partly obscured articles such as toys in a bran-tub, and Blind-man's Buff, all involving recognition by touch; or of pared portions of fruits and vegetables, such as potato, turnip, apple, pear, etc., involving recognition by taste, and other similar ones involving recognition by smell only, hearing only, or sight only. The representation of the forces of Nature dramatically is another common feature of this type of games. Shopping as a game makes an excellent introduction to arithmetic.

The Craft Games ("sports" fall mainly here, too) should bring about the development of the power of co-ordinating the movements of the various parts of the body under the general direction of the mind.[1] Practically every game will include this activity, and, indeed, as we have seen, the child is pre-eminently an experimenter in active occupa-

[1] An interesting fact emerges from the work of Mr. F. B. Gilbreth, the motion-study expert. Mr. Gilbreth has demonstrated clearly that the skilled operator in any branch of employment makes movements in speedy and accurate work which are dissimilar to those which he makes when working slowly. He concludes that all skilled movements should be learnt at the speed at which they will ultimately be made; and that accuracy should *not* be the first consideration of the teacher. The importance of the point thus raised can be hardly over-rated. (See F. B. Gilbreth, *Motion-Study*).

tions, and full of random explosive movements till satisfactory control and co-ordination are comparatively complete. At first the desire to change repeatedly the positions of movable objects will be encouraged, for the delight in power over objects is the root from which craftsmanship springs. Some of the kindergarten occupations which form a basis for subsequent education in the arts and crafts are weighing, measuring, modelling, colouring, weaving, painting, drawing, cutting, and gardening.

Underlying all these activities there will be in the most enlightened schools a broad current of culture and human interest with the movement of which the children will be borne along in felicity towards their predestined and splendid goal.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CURRICULUM OF STUDIES (*continued*)

In this chapter we can do little more than deal in broad rough outline from the junior and senior school points of view with the principal branches of study. We shall repeat at the outset that we think it desirable that an approach to knowledge and training should be made simultaneously from the two main starting-points already indicated, viz. that which is centred in the natural sciences, and that which is centred in language, literature, and history. Until the child reaches the end of his primary school career we should employ the arts and crafts as a method of education rather than subjects of direct instruction.

The main principle to be kept in mind continually, whether the subject under treatment is "multiplication of money," the feudal system, the commercial products of India, or anything else, is that everything taught must be made to appear to have a direct relation to current human interests. And arising out of this main principle a secondary principle follows, viz. that there must be a demand, deliberately excited if necessary, for the lessons which are being given. The nearer the teacher is able to keep his course true to these two principles, the more directly will he be able to steer towards

success, but the task is one calling for the greatest skill and patience.

Let us begin with the child of seven who is ready for formal lessons, and let us decide that we are to develop as a first step the possibilities of the immediate environment as a source of interest. A village or small town makes for this purpose a more easily understood unit than the large city, but the country teacher must resist the temptation to veer off tangentally from the circle of concrete interest into discussions of times long ago when village life was universal, and centre anew all his lessons in the past. The city child will be best interested at first in the nearest railway junction, main road, or riverway as the gate to the unknown beyond.

Keeping always in mind the necessities of the present, it would seem as though the natural method of procedure is (1) for the city child to be led away gradually and systematically from "the snorting steam and piston's stroke," so common to his locality, to an understanding of simple times and simpler modes of existence as they are found beyond the limits of the city streets, and (2) for the country child to move forward gradually through a thorough grasp of the details of his neighbourhood and their significance to a deeper realisation of the reality of our complex industrial and commercial civilisation.

It is the popularity of the theory of the parallelism between ontogenetic and phylogenetic development which is responsible for the majority of our school-books being written from the point of view which neglects largely the needs of the city child who in early life knows too little about the usual domestic animals, plants, and minerals, streams, hills, and

meadows, references to which are continually recurring in his reading-book and his lessons. It is imperative, we think, that at all costs the city child be allowed to live in the country for a certain number of weeks every year, so that he may share in the culture which otherwise will be denied him.

When university education of the Western type was introduced into India the students at first had to be content with translations of English text-books, and the difficulties of the native in understanding what exactly the cuckoo, the violet, and other Western phenomena of the temperate climate were like, can easily be imagined. Practically the same difficulty confronts the city child in reading about windmills and threshing-machines, and similar things peculiar to the country-side.[1] Still, the normal development of children follows best the path leading from the understanding of simple village life to complex city and national civilisation. If the child is so placed that this normal path cannot be pursued, then in default of an entirely new method being elaborated we think our plan of frequent country excursions and holidays must eventually be adopted.

Geography, in its initial stages a purely local geography, is the subject which best opens up the route leading into the province of the natural sciences. It shows us man in two aspects, as the creature and the creator of his environment. In its broad sweep it brings the wide earth to our notice and rightly taught results in a deepening and

[1] Some few years before the war an inspector of schools found in a class of about twenty training college city women-students several who had never seen a plough.

enlarging of our sympathies. The recent introduction of the cinema as an educational instrument marks a distinct advance in the teaching of geography by making supreme the human interest which in the past had been overshadowed by an excessive emphasis upon maps and statistics.

In dealing with man as a creature of his environment we note the effect of climate and soil, of waterways and mountains, of natural resources and other material factors upon man's physical constitution and mental characteristics. The mild Hindoo, the enterprising American, the thrifty Scot, the stolid Englishman, the genial Frenchman, and the quick-tempered Italian, though their type may be less general than we imagine, yet serve to indicate roughly the fact that man is moulded by the physical forces of his environment, just as his houses and churches are in most cases built out of the stone which is characteristic of the country-side in which he dwells. The staple of his industry, the nature of his commerce, and the situation of his cities and roads, and even his life occupation are determined largely by purely local considerations.

As creator of his environment we see him full of adaptability, insight, energy, resourcefulness, and ingenuity, turning the desert into pasture land, reclaiming meadows from the sea, linking up isolated regions by road, rail, canal, tunnel, and air, enlisting the favouring forces of nature on his behalf, or subduing them when they are rebellious to his will.

The ability to say from the inspection of a map of a country what its climate is likely to be, what time it is in its capital when twelve noon at Greenwich, the distance from north to south and from

east to west, the reason for certain parts being more thickly populated than others, and so forth, is an extremely valuable accomplishment which we should expect to find common in the more advanced classes of any school; but the tendency to make geography too much of an abstract science, by removing from it the human interest is likely to rob the subject of its deepest cultural value for the ordinary child.

Sir Sidney Low has been already quoted by us as a humanist at heart, and indeed his view of geography is inspiring. He writes in the article from which we have already quoted, "I would use the map sparingly and the photograph and (I hope) the school cinema a great deal. France, Italy, Switzerland, and India would be something more to the child than irregular polygons, coloured pink or green, and dotted all over with unintelligible names. I would like him to see Alpine glaciers and snowfields, Italian vineyards, Indian bazaars, Chicago skyscrapers, Australian sheep runs, tramp steamers wallowing through the Pacific, or plunging round the Horn—those steamers he has already seen loading up and discharging on the quays of the Tyne and Thames; I would get him to visualise the whole earth as the home of men, all engaged in their diverse activities, all more or less associated with one another." [1]

While demurring as practical teachers from Sir Sidney's poor esteem for the map—the factual backbone of sound geographical teaching—we commend this method of teaching geography as one capable of arousing the deepest interest in nature as well as in man, and as likely to set any child

[1] From *The Guardian* (September 1919).

dreaming of the life that awaits him in the world beyond his narrow horizon. Let the geography teacher keep in his mind's eye, or place in a prominent position in his classroom, the picture of "The Boyhood of Sir Francis Drake," or a similar one, to inspire and guide him; for the great world citizens of the future may be even among those that sit at his feet to catch his enthusiasm.

Arising out of local geography we get the basis of natural science in the form of nature study. It is perhaps unwise to attempt formal teaching of scientific principles to primary school children, but nature study is, properly taught, a concrete and practical subject capable of arousing genuine interest by its appeal to such root impulses as the collecting instinct and the protective instinct for pets. It forms an indispensable link between geography and the natural sciences which are to be taught later.

We have made so far no reference to mathematics, which springs naturally from our interest in the environment surrounding us. In the kindergarten the subject will be introduced through shopping and counting games. In local geography we shall need to measure and calculate, and shall gain a working knowledge of Form. Practical interest in circles, squares, and triangles of playground, field, garden, and workshop will precede theorising about such forms, and the rational stage of mathematical study will follow when dissatisfaction with crude methods of measurement and demand for greater exactitude naturally arise. The ideals of exactitude and clear judgment will then spontaneously form themselves in the growing mind.

Just as geography, nature-study, mathematics, and

the natural sciences are linked up through their common reference to the world which is external to man, so history, literature, and music through their common concern for the spiritual nature of man are also linked up together in an intimate relationship. In the best lessons there will never be created an atmosphere of complete detachment between the main divisions of study, for the subject is always the same even when approached along different paths: it is man in relation to other men or to his physical environment which should be the constant object of our study. It is only for the sake of system and orderly progress that we divide the problem of knowledge.

History shows us the present in the light of the past. It is "the systematised story of the spiritual and temporal experience and experiment of mankind." [1] Spencer and Bishop Stubbs expected that in giving men and women a full knowledge of the experiences of the people of the past, it would enable them to judge correctly the tendencies of their own time, and to make wise decisions for the future. Historians themselves cannot transcend their human limitations and prejudices and foretell the future, and it is certain that we shall be expecting too much from history if we adopt the point of view of Spencer and Stubbs. History will, however, socialise and humanise its students, making them more tolerant of those whose views are not theirs, and arousing in them admiration for heroism and social service.

It has been pointed out frequently that the method of teaching history which thrusts kings and

[1] *Janus and Vesta.*

courtiers into the foreground of interest, and neglects the corporate life of the people as a whole, is wrong. The tendency to-day is to devote more time to the broad human movements which are largely independent of the control of rulers. As John Richard Green wrote, " In the quiet, quaintly-named street, in Town-mead, in Market-place, in the lord's mill beside the stream, in the bell that swung out its summons to the crowded borough-mote, in the jealousies of craftsmen and guilds lay the real life of Englishmen, the life of their home and trade, their sober ceaseless struggle with oppression, their steady unwearied battle for self-government." [1]

Children, however, are deeply and intensely interested in personalities, and the kings and queens and courtiers, like the fairy princes and princesses and godmothers whom they replace in the children's imagination, represent permanent objects of phantasy in their lives. Often the family drama to which we alluded in the second chapter of this part of our book compels the child unconsciously to seek satisfaction by identifying himself or herself and the principal relatives with the striking figures of history, so that to teach history without reference to personalities will be the greatest of errors. The wisest course will be to attempt to transfer interest gradually from the figureheads which attract the early interest to the more authentic figures, the men and women who have distinctly affected the course of events and raised the level of our lives. Vivid oral narrative and biographies, poems and pictures and tales, dramatising, visits to museums and historical buildings, and commemoration days

[1] *Short History.*

will be the instruments employed by the teacher who understands the function of history in stimulating both public spirit and the love of mystery and adventure.

Not only a body of reliable knowledge, but, still more, an intelligent social attitude should be the result of our history teaching in the years preceding adolescence. Even afterwards, there should be no neglect of the human factor in history. It is a common practice to divide the teaching of a subject like history into three stages, in the first of which the youngest children are interested by the teacher in personalities, in the next there is emphasis laid upon events, while in the third a proper systematisation of knowledge takes place, cause and effect being exhaustively studied. But we believe that in all stages living human interest should dominate supremely the study of the subject-matter.

Literature viewed from one aspect is the handmaid of history, preserving like a vestal virgin the purest fire of inspiration in its original vitality and intensity. The natural approach to literature is through the myth and the fairy tale. Its chief function undoubtedly is to hand on the intellectual and spiritual acquisitions, attitudes, and traditions of the race from one generation to the next. In Milton's words, "As good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image; but he who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth, but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master Spirit, inbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life."

In literature, art, and music, it is now recognised, general appreciation should precede and be the sole reason for detailed study. The writer remembers being taken solemnly through *Paradise Lost* during a university course with frequent halts at uncommon words and phrases reminiscent of earlier writers. But never once was any attention drawn to the poem as a whole, as an expression of a personality or a point of view, or as a repository of culture. Both history and literature when properly taught, however, minister to the highest needs of the individual in suggesting and popularising refined and surrogate forms of satisfaction for the insistent egoistic unsocial impulses which demand expression.

The deep and widespread interest which to-day is manifested in the cinema is significant in this respect: its function should be to aid the outflow in a harmless form of the pent-up emotions which cannot safely be indulged in our modern life. Good literature should be brought within the range of the child's appreciation because the ideals of conduct and thought portrayed are superior in their quality and persistence to those of the cinema, and very frequently even to those of the arena of our best public life. As regards the technique of teaching in this subject we recommend warmly Dr. F. H. Hayward's book on *The Lesson in Appreciation.* Dr. Hayward strongly advocates among other things the institution of *red-letter* lessons properly prepared for during preceding weeks, so that they come as a climax to the interest and expectancy awaiting them.

Connected intimately with the lessons in appreciation of literature, art, and music will be the

exercises in self-expression in language. It is essential to avoid at the outset any extended attention to the minutiæ of style, or to the logical analysis by the pupil of his moods and ideas. Development in self-expression is largely an unconscious affair, and the mere fact of its catching the conscious attention is often sufficient to destroy its grace and spontaneity. Teachers to-day wisely encourage oral expression in the youngest children in place of written expression. But the oral expression of uninteresting matter is seldom an improvement upon the older methods of forced expression. "Make me a nice sentence about a buttercup" is the sort of order which generally fails to arouse any kind of genuine response.

Mr. Kenneth Richmond once pointed out[1] that the act of writing is in itself a powerful deterrent to the flow of inspiration in young children, and said that means should be adopted to obviate it where necessary. If children can be encouraged to speak freely while some one else writes down what they say, and then reads it over afterwards aloud to them, the effect is stimulating and encouraging to a marked degree. A small girl of my acquaintance aged seven, just at the stage when to write five or six lines was fatiguing, spoke the following to her mother. (The reader will realise at once in glancing through it how absurd it really is to regulate the progress of self-expression automatically by the pace of the child's effort at mastering spelling and handwriting.) "Michael Angelo was a very clever boy. He became a great painter and an artist too. He went to the garden of Saint Mark where he saw a

[1] *New Age*, 1917.

lot of statues carved in marble. A man came and said he could copy some of the statues, and so Michael Angelo chose the oldest one that was a bit injured, the statue of a faun. He was at his work for a lot of days and after he had finished the man came and said, 'Do you mind me passing some remarks about your statue? You have given it an old forehead and nice young teeth for such an old faun.' The boy chiselled out one or two of the faun's teeth, and chiselled the gums a bit to make them look crinkled. Then he went away and when he came next day he found to his surprise that his statue had vanished, and while he was looking round for it, the same old man came again. So Michael asked the man where it had gone to. The man took Michael into a palace and led him into a room, and the boy saw a lot of lovely statues, and amongst them was the old faun that he had made."

It follows from a consideration of such essays as this, immature as it is, that the old view of the sentence as the unit of expression must be given up. We must encourage children to form clear ideas of a complete story, incident, or project, and get them to pour out the whole thing in their own way, leaving refinement and polish for subsequent attention.[1] Mr. Caldwell Cook in *The Play Way* tells us how he got his boys each in turn as their interest moved them to give speeches upon topics of interests to the class assembled (often in the open air) as their audience. The writer has found that in schools where shorthand is taught it is a stimulating exercise for the older children to

[1] See also footnote p. 209.

"report" the oral essays of the younger children and hand them over to the latter in written form. The young child is as eager to show his skill in these circumstances as the older one. Whatever assists the flow of ideas is good in this connection.

In the teaching of literature the fullest use will be made of the public library, which in the best centres already has a children's section, a special children's librarian, and frequent public lectures on subjects which appeal to children. In most schools the higher classes possess a magazine which records current events and interests. If the teacher is alert and successful he will contrive to arouse a desire on the part of the pupils to produce the magazine for themselves, to print it, bind it, illustrate it, and provide the copy. In this way even those who are not directly interested in literary composition will be won to a regard for books through their share in the actual making of the magazine.

All the subjects of the curriculum may be taught through active occupations, and since we hold that vocational, *i. e.* technical, training in the arts and crafts should not be attempted in the primary schools where the cultural and disciplinary values of occupations must predominate, we do not think it necessary here to enlarge upon the subject.

During the primary school age, however, the child should gain an acquaintance with the tools and materials and methods employed in the various trades and occupations, so that he may form a tolerably clear idea of the direction in which his talents will best find their appropriate expression, whether through expression in wood, metal, or plastic materials, through oral or written words,

through painting or music, or in the direction of others. The day is certainly past when the part of the child in school can be visualised as one of rigidity, passivity, and silence. The child must learn during his school life how to manage to play his part in life without adult assistance, and the task of the teacher must be, in the highest classes particularly, to aid him to control, refine, and enrich his own experience and make him ready for self-mastery and self-direction.

CHAPTER IX

OCCUPATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL APTITUDES

As the result of the gradual development of native ability which is brought about during school life through the interplay of the various human impulses and desires, of the experimental activities aimed at securing satisfactory adaptation to life which they set in motion, and of the intelligence (whether of instinct, intellect or intuition[1]), which presides over them, the personality of the child acquires before the end of his school career a number of marked individual characteristics, some intellectual, some emotional and some volitional. Certain writers have seen the signs of individuality appear very early in human life. Over a century ago Rousseau pointed out that every individual is *born* with a distinctive temperament, adding in his own whimsical way that education destroys the natural bent of the minds of children and leaves instead a dull uniformity. But education, though it may obliterate certain characteristics, is not altogether destructive; it is formative too; there are human qualities which take time to mature and education is certainly a factor which decides the speed and nature of this maturity. Locke noted the same thing as Rousseau, that all individuals have their peculiarities of physical and mental

[1] See p. 99.

endowment; it is difficult to square this notion, however, with the *tabula rasa* theory of the mind which Locke held. But in spite of Rousseau, who had a theory of "original virtue" to defend at all costs against the prevalent dogma of "original sin" (a need which led him to blame civilisation in general and education in particular for all that was wrong with human nature), we must believe that for a long time personality explores all the possible paths to expression, content with no single one for more than a period, finally pouring itself out through those which have in the long run proved most satisfactory. Bodily peculiarities facilitate or obstruct certain of these attempts at expression, extremely delicate sense apparatus of one or more kinds may suffice to decide the form which expression may eventually take, early training may render certain forms of expression more pleasing or displeasing than others, or, in rare cases, the innate quality of the *élan vital* may be such as to bear down every barrier to adequate expression, and choose at will its own ways and means of manifesting itself regardless of defect. Thus, to illustrate the last point, "Mozart had an imperfectly developed ear; Beethoven had otosclerosis; Demosthenes stammered, and as if mythology had recognised this law, many of the ancient Gods were defective. Odin had but one eye, Tyr had one hand, Vulcan was lame, Vidar dumb." [1]

We have already in a previous chapter emphasised the connection between the character-qualities of the individual and his intelligence-qualities. We shall here take up the subject in more detail and

[1] W. A. White, *Mechanisms of Character Formation.*

discuss it from the point of view of occupational and vocational aptitudes.

In the first place we may now believe that one of the principal factors, if not the principal factor, which decides a person's limits in life is "general intelligence," which we have described as owing its development to the necessity for controlling, refining, and satisfying the inner needs in order to meet the increasing demands of life. Intelligence considered apart from will is, of course, an abstraction, as is will considered apart from intelligence and the other primary psychic "elements." In dealing with an adjustment to life we may speak of the adjustment as a product of intelligence, or of the act of adjustment itself as a product of will. As Benedetto Croce put it, "Was not the battle of Austerlitz also a work of thought, and the Divine Comedy also a work of will?"

We have not thought it necessary in this chapter to emphasise the importance of the environment, natural and spiritual, as a factor responsible for the channel, often almost rigid, through which alone ability can function. We have assumed that there are limits within which a certain choice of expression is allowed and beyond which there are possibilities of further development if the urge towards self-expression is strong enough. But in many cases even the artist of recognised ability grows content before he ought with his early felicities, like Barrie with his effects in the expression of pathos and Jacobs with his low comedy successes; in such cases achievement is a distinct block rather than a spur to originality. At its best, however, the creative human intelligence grows tired of repetition

and through its Shakespeares soars from achievement to fresh achievement unaffected by either popularity or applause. Here we consider it to be our business to indicate what are the individual human factors which decide the nature of a vocation.

A general mental factor closely related to intelligence has been revealed mathematically by Professor Spearman, and called by him "g." Psychologists agree to-day in identifying this factor with intellectual ability. Whether it is the exact equivalent of intelligence in the broadest sense we shall discover with greater certainty as more experimental work is done. It is reactive, responsive, conscious intellect, however, rather than creative intelligence "that sets its own problems and solves them," which has so far been most thoroughly investigated in connection with "g." Certainly the general factor "g" functions in all operations of the mind calling for attention, comprehension, judgment, comparison, imagination, and rational inference. Such a factor so widely operative obviously determines very largely the quality of one's general intelligence. So closely do the results of an investigation by the psychologist of the "g" qualities of school children correspond with the teachers' own estimates of the same children in respect of their intelligence, and so quickly can the psychologist apply his tests and thus gain knowledge which the teacher takes months to gather by the slower process of experience, that we may be sure of the validity of the psychologist's claim to have discovered the presence of one broad intellectual factor functioning in all mental operations. It would seem that the probable reason of the differ-

ence, in so far as it exists, between the estimates of the psychologist and the teacher, lies in the fact that the latter, like all observers of human nature who have no scientific method in their observation, cannot but allow his judgments to be unconsciously coloured through the influence of such substantially non-intellectual traits as humour, mental *tempo*, perseverance, leadership qualities and the like. With natural penetration the teacher interprets intelligence as a combination of instinct, intellect, and intuition, rather than as purely intellectual (conscious) ability.

It should soon be possible to classify with a certain amount of precision all the trades, occupations, and professions with respect to the amount of "g" which they call for. It is common knowledge that the administrator and the engineer need far more of this quality than the craftsman, the craftsman more than the factory worker, and the factory worker more than the casual labourer, but what is imperatively needed is a fuller and more refined grading than that which common sense would give us.

It is interesting to find in this connection that when the American Government was faced with the problem of creating their army they called in the psychologist to assist them in the task of choosing the most capable men to act as leaders and as workers in specific tasks. The results have been said by those competent to judge to justify the methods employed. The psychologists decided that the great thing which a leader should possess in the way of intelligence is the power of rapid and accurate judgment. Possibly the tests employed would not

discover the more decisive but slower type of judgment. It is not quite the type of "g," for example, which a Newton or an Edison would necessarily show; it is the swift second-best decision rather than the slower very-best decision, however, which is emphasised in the actions of the average Army Commander, and there is no doubt that speed of decision must be his outstanding quality. These tests, in a word, selected regimental officers fit for *tactics*, but not generalissimos adequate to strategy.

As a secondary result of the application of the tests all the principal American trades, occupations, and professions were graded with respect to the amount of "quick 'g'" which they called into operation. It was found that engineer officers were placed at the top of this list and labourers at the bottom, a result which is in agreement with the expectations of common sense. It is probable, however, that the kind of test used places those engaged in clerical occupations at a great advantage over others.

Any teacher who gets his pupils to work the following test as rapidly as they can will be employing the sort of test which was given to the American Army recruits. He should endeavour to time each child and in evaluating the results take both speed and accuracy into account.

With your pencil make a dot over any of these letters: F G H I J, and a comma after the longest of these three words: Boy Mother Girl. Then if Christmas comes in March, make a cross right here ( ), but if not, pass along to the next question and tell where the sun rises ( ). If you

believe that Edison discovered America, cross out what you just wrote, but if it was some one else put in a number to complete this sentence: "A horse has ( ) feet." Write "Yes" no matter whether China is in Africa or not ( ); and then give a wrong answer to this question: "How many days are there in the week?" ( ). Write any letter except G just after this comma, and then write "No" if two times five are ten ( ). Now if Tuesday does not come after Monday, make two crosses here ( ), but if Tuesday comes before Monday make a circle here ( ), or else a square here ( ). Be sure to make three crosses between these two names of boys: George ( ) Henry. Notice these two numbers: 3, 5. If iron is heavier than water, write the larger number here ( ), but if iron is lighter than water write the smaller number here ( ). Now show by a cross when the nights are longer: in summer? ( ) in winter? ( ). Give the correct answer to this question: "Does water run uphill?" ( ). Do nothing here (5+ 7=) unless you skipped the preceding question, but write the first letter of your first name and the last letter of your last name at the end of this line: [1]

Let us accept, then, as a fact of the greatest occupational significance this variation in the *tempo* of intelligence. There seems to be little doubt

[1] This type of test among others has recently (Autumn 1919) been used by Prof. Thorndike at Columbia University for the diagnosis of the abilities of college entrants. It is claimed that such tests pick out native ability with better success than ordinary examinations. It still remains to be seen whether these tests cannot be successfully *coached* for.

that modern life, especially as we see it in towns where after all the majority of us live, is becoming increasingly suited to those people who possess quickness of mind rather than profundity. We have developed systems of business and industry which promote hustle, methods of travel which preclude the possibility of leisurely thought, games which demand swift movement and instant decision, newspapers and amusements which emphasise only the things which are on the crest of the passing wave, and fashions, attitudes, and moods which express nothing but novelty. The most valuable qualities a person can possess, if he must live in this world of constant change which we have indicated, are speedy thinking and enterprise. The slower type of mind must be content to await the golden moment of opportunity. It is now the hour of precocity: quick to mature and swift to perish are our modern reputations. We must, therefore, be all the more careful in our systems of education lest we discourage the slower, profounder thinkers, and suggest by our concern for pulsing electric movement that they cannot play a worthy part in life. We must not fall into the error of supposing that they will fill no other posts in society except those to be manned by routine workers.

Often enough, however, the slower type of man will make up for his lack of brilliance by a solid reserve of energy and a steadiness of temper which fits him admirably for the performance of certain responsible tasks. We repeat here what we have said before, that, in addition to the general factor of intellectual ability, there is a general mental factor of emotional quality which decides the

strength and persistence of our motives. One day, it may be in the near future, we shall have drawn up for us as a result of a thorough investigation a list of trades, occupations, and professions classified in accordance with the amount of persistence and steadiness which they call for. Our general educational system could then be remoulded so that the needs both of the quick and the slow would be effectively served. There has been too much attention hitherto, in the higher branches of education, to the needs of the speedy-minded: most of the profound thinkers have owed little to their academic education, save an important proviso —the initial impulse and direction.

At its best this general character quality, discovered experimentally by Dr. Edward Webb and called by him "w," dominates all the deeper social virtues. It would function, we may imagine, very strongly in the lives of scientific explorers, inventors, mariners, philosophers, statesmen, martyrs, and all those who need the power of continued application. At the present moment we have no reliable tests which will enable us to calculate with precision the amount of "w" any person possesses, but the work of many psychologists in the next few years will no doubt be devoted to the discovery and formulation of such tests. Speaking figuratively, if we can imagine as a norm or criterion a well-balanced proportion of "g" and "w," intellectual acuity and emotional steadiness, then we may perhaps say that great excess of "g" over "w" gives us the brilliant but unsteady mind marked usually by a long alternation of great promises and equally great failures, and that excess of "w" over "g"

gives us the conscientious reliable worker. This, however, is just a picturesque manner of stating something of the truth underlying the appearance of these factors.

In addition to the general mental factors "g" and "w" already mentioned, there function in the expression of the personality several other independent specific factors which do not depend for their strength or quality wholly upon the general factors. It would seem, we repeat, as though man's mental energy is able to flow more readily into one predetermined channel of expression than into another, just as it finds greater and more delicate expression through one hand than through the other (so that ambidexterity is the exception rather than the rule). The principal of these specific abilities as already fairly decided are dealt with below. The present condition of our knowledge about specific qualities, is not, however, as full as it might be.[1] Still, it must, be obvious that though we may be able to grade people with some degree of accuracy with respect to a single factor like "g," it is practically impossible to grade them by general intelligence, which is a much more complex function.

A very important criticism of the educational faddist follows from a thoughtful consideration of these specific factors which function in varying degrees in different people. Let us first deal with those *intellectual*[2] factors which are specific rather than general in their nature.

[1] Let us therefore make the school more of a pedagogical laboratory and less of a novelty warehouse.

[2] Bearing much the same relation to "w" as these do to "g" are the specific *interests*.

Manual or motor dexterity is one well-established specific ability. It may take the form of natural skill in large movements, or in small movements of self-expression. Every experienced teacher is aware of the fact that some children excel in a marked manner in handwork occupations, such as penmanship, drawing, painting, needlework, dancing, gymnastics, and games, and that these children may not be the best children from the point of view of all-round ability. In the years of childhood much more of the current of human expression finds its outlet through motor forms than through purely sensory forms. If, however, the *whole* content of education must be given a motor form, then there will be few opportunities for the less dexterous children to discover those aptitudes in which they may excel, since their best means of self-expression may be through another medium.

Ability in calculation, according to the best experimental evidence, is a specific ability, which varies in its relation to general intelligence. The capacity for making use of abstract numerical symbols has been identified by many educationists with the highest types of mind, and so mathematics has been accorded a prominent place in the curriculum. The fact that Plato, Descartes, Kant, Leibniz, Newton, and other philosophers have been great mathematicians is rather significant. It would seem that we must rely principally upon mathematics for the training which enables us to systematise our knowledge. Hence its indispensability as an instrument of education. But the fact that mathematical ability is not a general ability must prevent us from making it either the sole or the

principal instrument of education. (It is necessary to say that calculating ability may prove not to be the same thing as mathematical ability.)

A third specific ability is linguistic ability which shows itself in the power to understand and use the mother tongue. Mr. Cyril Burt, whom the writer has for the most part followed in his analysis of specific intellectual abilities, would differentiate from this factor another factor, literary ability, which certainly would seem to involve more than mere linguistic ability, since the æsthetic appreciation of language as a means of artistic expression is also present in it. Musical ability is another specific ability which may possess elements in common with the last-named ability.

A case has been made out by Dr. McQueen [1] for the existence of specific types of attention. He would distinguish between the two following types of attention which he has experimentally demonstrated to exist; some people, for example, possess an ability to distribute their attention at will over a particular field, while others are gifted with an intenser but less easily distributed form of attention. The power to distribute attention is essential to success in some occupations, such as, for example, bus-driving and telephone-operating. It is possibly a *sine qua non* to the organiser. On the other hand, many routine machine-feeding tasks call for the intensive "fixating" type.[2]

[1] *The Distribution of Attention.*

[2] The power to distribute attention was needed, for example, in learning the following feat noted recently in the newspapers. Miss Doris Griffiths, a pupil of Pengwern College, Cheltenham, has mastered a difficult feat of juggling with three balls, whilst skipping in two ropes.

If it is true, and experimental psychology would certainly declare it to be true, that we are all gifted in diverse fashion with these specific abilities, possessing some in a marked degree, and lacking others, then there emerges from a consideration of this truth a fact of great educational importance which has not yet received proper attention. This fact is that the faddists, who are always with us, who tell us that their own pet subject will prove to be of inestimable value in the development of the mind, are blind to the truth that we are not all made for development in the same medium. The educationist who takes a subject calling for the operation of a single specific human ability, and imposes it upon the whole community of school children as the principal agency for their culture, is as stupid as the man who would compel us all to learn to write with our left hands because he, a left-handed man himself, has found it the natural and best thing to do. What we should rather aim at is the cultivation of general intelligence and of emotional stability, and leave the children themselves to develop naturally along the lines of their own specific aptitudes. To aim too much at making the unmusical musical, the unmathematical mathematical, the child who is lacking in motor dexterity clever in the use of tools, and the child who has no gift for expression through language a literary stylist, is vain waste of labour. Let us aim, instead, at re-fashioning the curriculum so that no child passes through the schools without discovering spontaneously for himself those channels of self-expression and of adequate adjustment to environment which best suit his nature.

The soundest objection to the curriculum of the old type of grammar school and to those of many of the primary and secondary schools of the present day is that these curricula are not sufficiently varied to allow for spontaneous self-discovery. In the case of most schools it is still true that so little is allowed the pupils in the way of active co-operation in the tasks of the school that self-discovery is too commonly impossible.

Many people, on the other hand, would encourage the psychologist to make as early investigation of the specific abilities of children so that a method of thorough training might be adopted to make the best of these abilities. We fear that the result would be a one-sided development, and a cultivating of technical aptitude at the expense of such qualities of general intelligence as alertness, imagination, and ingenuity, which alone make technical aptitude desirable. The danger of this narrow kind of utilitarian specialisation would be that it would assist the stereotyping of social status: it would give skill, but this skill can only be used to full advantage by those persons whose education has not been severely limited, whose studies have been more liberal and emancipating. After all, we must attend not so much to the perfecting of the instruments of self-expression as to the needs of the human being who seeks self-expression. It is the balance of the general culture which emancipates and ennobles and of efficiency in the occupational subjects which shows us where we may best look for our real place in society that we must advocate. We must take the specific intellectual abilities as standing for broad divisions in the curriculum and

introduce as varied a representation and reflection of the life of society under each heading as it is possible to do. So will the abilities of each child receive varied and educative practice, and his life-career become gradually defined.

The fact must not be overlooked that *interests* which may be regarded as specific abilities of an emotional origin often determine very largely a person's aptitudes. Indeed, Thorndike has somewhere said that a person's abilities correlate almost entirely with the intensity of his interests. We may, therefore, apply a perfectly good general intelligence test which misses altogether a particular interest excelled in by the subject; and as a result of our investigation proclaim the subject as generally incompetent.

So that in addition to the specific intellectual abilities already mentioned, we ought to add the warning that they are by no means exhaustive, for there may be as many specific aptitudes or abilities as there can be specific interests. A man may be gifted by nature to be a bus-driver and yet his interests may drive him into the Church. Probably, therefore, we ought to preface all investigations into the nature of a person's abilities by a psycho-analytic enquiry about his master-interests, so that those which are based on infantile phantasies rather than on ability may be modified.

Motor dexterity, for example, ought not to be made the basis for a compulsory training in a craft. There are good craftsmen inferior in pure motor dexterity to those who gain their livelihood in intellectual work. This is but to say that man the mechanism is always to be subordinated to man the

human being. His physical structure and his inherited disposition may aid him in his selection of a suitable occupation, but it must be his *interests* and *ideal attitudes* which must finally decide his vocation.

The subject of educational "measurement" is still in its cradle stage. The enquiring reader would do well, however, to read Stern's work on the *Psychological Methods of Testing Intelligence* and *The Measurement of Intelligence* by Terman, for a general treatment of the subject, and Mr. Cyril Burt's article on *The Development of Reasoning in School Children* ("Journal of Experimental Pedagogy," June 1919), for a masterly application of the Binet method of measurement to reasoning ability. Rusk's *Introduction to Experimental Education* (1919 Edition), summarises the main part of the experimental work done in the principal school subjects.

[Reference should also be made to the illuminating suggestion of a third factor "c" by J. C. M. Garnett, *British Journal of Psychology*, May 1919. If we conceive the creative will of the individual as a synthesis of three factors, the powers of idealisation, of ideation, and of imagination respectively, then it would appear that Dr. Webb's "w," Professor Spearman's "g," and Principal Garnett's "c" are the respective measures of these three factors, while their resultant would characterise the individual's creative mentality.—Note added by the Honorary Editor.]

CHAPTER X

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE SCHOOL

The best men and women among our skilled teachers are unable to remain happy for long in a condition of blind unreasoning rebellion against systems and codes and regulations which compel them too often, contrary to their better judgment, to treat the humanity in their pupils too frequently as a negligible cipher. The ordinary arm-chair educational reformer, busy gathering his facts about education from the remarks let fall by disappointed employers who expect the schools to turn out just the type of mentality suited to their specific needs, or by biased magistrates who have generalised a little too readily from their experience of the delinquent adolescent as though he were the type of all adolescence, would probably be amazed to learn of the existence of even one in a hundred of the experiments which are being attempted every day by teachers anxious to develop to the full the latent aptitudes of the children in their charge. Opinion inside the schools is fully ripe for any kind of change which promises increased vitality: there never was less conservatism among educators than to-day; indeed, it would be correct to say that the danger at present lies in the pursuit of educational novelty for its own sake, rather than in a stubborn

acquiescence in discredited methods and obsolete standards.

We have already expressed the opinion that the greatest inspirational use may be made of the class system as we have it to-day, but this does not mean that we shall be obliged to regard the present organisation of the class as an ideal one. In so far as the class system tends to result in the particular quality of any one child's gifts being ignored it is thoroughly bad. The individual after all is the fulcrum and the lever, and the operator, too, for raising the life of the community to higher levels of expression and achievement; so that he must claim our full attention. The ruler who cannot rise to the conception of a social system which is able to humanise all his subjects is apt to think most about the necessity for securing the outward appearances of well-being, and at times even deludes himself into believing that externally imposed and mechanically sustained order is all that matters.

The Machiavellian politician, the commercial advertiser, and the stunt journalist are not, however, content with the passivity and lack of purpose which would please the unenlightened ruler or the efficient prison official; they prefer to regard individuals not as mere cog-wheels in a machine, but as a collection, rather, of appetites, to be stimulated and tickled into greedy activity, or as a swarm of unruly passions to be goaded into fury or lulled into slumber as the circumstances of the hour dictate. Both attitudes have in the past found a full share of representation in the schools. The greatest, however, of all administrative tasks, statesman's and educator's, still calls for its disciples: and

this task involves aiding, encouraging, and guiding our children to rise above merely mechanical and merely passionate living, and to regulate their lives by fixed and yet flexible ideals; to control gross appetite in the service of both self and society. This is the aim; what of the method?

It will be found eventually that neither precepts nor "moral lessons" will of themselves avail much to complete the preparation of the child for the life of the world beyond the school. We have already heard voice after voice declare that it is not the gaily printed exhortation upon the wall, or even the living utterance of the teacher which is the all-important influence in the school environment, but that it is rather the teacher's conduct; that his example is much more powerful than his precepts; that his actions speak louder than his words. All true, all admirable! But we are to-day moving a little nearer still to the heart of the problem. For if actions really do matter more than mere words, then not only the teacher's actions will affect the child but also those of all his classmates will do so too. We have seen excellent teachers at work and heard them talk in the most skilful manner imaginable about the social virtues, citing vivid concrete illustrations and gaining unquestionably the sympathies of their children for the right against the wrong, the true against the false, the beautiful against the ugly. What is urgently required now, however, to give the distinctive touch of realism to our best educational endeavour is not so much the appreciation in passivity of all that is lovely, true and good, as the active realisation of the value of these things in

practice. And before the child can learn the value of these things he must be led to desire them ardently as instrumental to the achievement of his own set purposes. He must discover with something of a shock that injustice and ugliness are frustrating his efforts.

All this introduces us to the subject of the present chapter. To be a good citizen one must actively experience the need for social order and progress, and this need will become acute in the best communities during school life. The child while he is still a child will be taught to feel the responsibility of his part in a real communal life among his equals. To respect law and authority, then, one must have realised their need, and taken a hand, moreover, in establishing them.

It is therefore a healthy feeling which grows in strength every day that the school will fail in its main functions unless its children upon leaving it have not only gained an acquaintance with the essential social virtues and conventions through description, but have also acquired in practice a distinct taste for co-operation and ordered self-government. For how shall boys and girls who for years have had most of the details of their lives arranged and controlled for them by adults be expected straightway to adapt themselves to the life of responsible adult citizenship?

Madame Montessori has shown us how to begin the work of education for self-government. Her youngest pupils are trained from the outset to help themselves, and to seek adult aid only when it is absolutely necessary. The fundamental principle of her teaching method has two aspects: for the

child it involves the assumption of responsibility for its own development, and for the teacher it involves "active" non-interference, or what Professor John Adams calls "wholesome neglect"; that is, the skilful arrangement of a rich and varied environment which will contain its own stimuli and correctives. It would seem to be a sound principle to work upon that the child will progress much more rapidly when he is able to use his own initiative and plan his own school activities. We have already indicated the dangers which lie in a whole-hearted acceptance of this too completely individualistic conception of self-development. We prefer to hold that the class must be made a co-operative community in the interests of self-realisation, and the citizens must plan their joint welfare together.

There are two classic experiments in education for self-realisation through communal self-government with which every teacher should endeavour to make himself thoroughly familiar. The first is the George Junior Republic founded in 1895 in America by Mr. William George. As a practical philanthropist Mr. George had for several years organised a summer camp for the so-called "criminal" type of boy who is to be found in the back streets of the large city, owning no allegiance to our conventional moral standards, yet with a gang-morality, nevertheless, which controls him just as effectively as the ten commandments control the Christian. The junior republic was modelled upon the constitution of the U.S.A., and in it a number of boys of the delinquent class, numbering sometimes as many as a hundred and fifty, learnt to

live together in harmony, making their own laws and administering them justly. A currency and a bank were instituted and every boy was allowed to hold property. Those who offended against the laws were tried by a jury of their peers and punished in an appropriate manner.

It is claimed that only two per cent. of those with criminal records who passed through the republic failed to make good. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we read, "The George Junior Republic is a remarkable institution . . . the original features of the institution are that the motto, 'Nothing without Labour' is rigidly enforced and that self-government is carried to a point that with mere children would appear whimsical were it not a proved success. The place is as the name implies a miniature Republic, with laws, legislature, courts and administrators, of its own, all made and carried out by the 'citizens' themselves. The tone and the spirit appeared to be excellent, and there is much evidence that in many cases strong and independent character is developed in children whose antecedents have been almost hopeless."

Mr. William George himself describes in the concluding chapter of *The Junior Republic: Its History and Ideals*, what he considers to be the psychological basis of his remarkable institution. He sees that criminality is merely misdirected energy, and arranges that communal self-government and co-operation in industry shall short-circuit all the live wires of vitality which cause lawlessness and irresponsibility. He states it as his experience that all boys are hero-worshippers and daredevils, that they all are filled with the desire for praise, with the

passion for adventure, with the spirit of curiosity, of camaraderie, and with resentment against adult control. There is, moreover, a big surplus of physical and mental energy in every adolescent demanding and compelling active expression; to dam up the flood in one quarter simply ensures its breaking through in another. The only control which is likely to civilise the growing boy is responsibility. Since the adult community refuses the rebellious boy the right to remould his environment in accordance with his imperious needs then, as Mr. George saw, the only happy alternative is not to advise, threaten, lecture, and punish the young nonconformist, but to institute for him an environment in which he can express all that is in him to some useful purpose.

The idea of a "junior" republic has the appearance of novelty to the orthodox teacher, and surrounded as he is with novelties which "have their day and cease to be," it is often difficult for him to detect among so many those novelties which will prove to have wearing qualities. Let us hasten to assure the reader that the idea of self-government for school children is one which corresponds to a steadily increasing need; it will become more necessary than ever as the years pass, and the environment of the adolescent assume more and more an aspect of challenge to all his instincts. Already in many English schools experiments in self-government have been attempted and the results have proved the great value of the idea.

Mr. Homer Lane organised in our own country not many years ago *The Little Commonwealth* for delinquents on lines similar to those on which the

Junior Republic was successfully organised. It is the second of the classic experiments in self-government to which we have alluded. Mr. Homer Lane discovered like his master that the public opinion of the "citizens," acting when necessary through a democratic court of justice, and directed by a democratically elected "citizen" judge, was sufficient to maintain order. Laws were enforced because the children found that they could not live comfortably without them, and these laws were respected because they were understood and self-imposed.[1]

How can we make use of the experience of Mr. William George and Mr. Homer Lane in the school? It will be said that we have already forestalled these pioneers by the institution of the prefect system of our public schools. It is one of the great merits of the English public school that it certainly does train boys to a sense of responsibility, so that for centuries it has been able to keep up the national supply of leaders and administrators. Not all, however, is being done that could be done.

Practically every teacher has conceded the argument for school self-direction and self-government by assigning small but responsible duties with compensating privileges to that type of unruly boy who is to be found everywhere. In many a school the rule is that if a boy is troublesome he should be made a monitor. Now if responsibility is good for the lawless, it will prove equally good for the law-abiding. If it sobers the impulsive it is neverthe-

[1] The reader will find further discussion on school self-government in an interesting pamphlet by Mr. J. Simpson, *An Experiment in Self-Government*.

less capable of stimulating the quieter and more retiring. At all events some form of corporate life in which the growing child can feel that he is something of a determining factor is becoming a necessity, and when healthy forms of co-operation are not provided then unhealthy forms will flourish in their stead. And as Professor Cooley says, "A clique, a club, a gang, a Fagin's household of thieves, and the prisoners in a gaol provided educative environment for those who enter into a collective or joint activity as truly as a Church, a Labour Union, a business partnership, or a political party." [1]

It remains for us at this stage to suggest ways in which the superabundant and uncompromising virility of children may be turned into channels of co-operative usefulness. Naturally one would not dare to suggest the imposition of self-government upon unwilling subjects: the whole secret of success will depend upon the necessity for it being the motive which creates the demand. The teacher will need to exert his tact and skill in fostering the spirit which later will cause this demand for some share in government to be made. This may be done through letting fall fruitful words occasionally, by introducing the subject into the debating hour, only announcing that "four weeks (or some other time) from to-day we shall have a lesson, a debate, or a discussion," upon some cognate subject so that the interest will naturally spread to the inflammable ideas to which we shall set to work to establish a connection. In this way real social purpose will be generated as a driving force in support of the project we are furthering.

[1] *Social Organisation.*

The first activities of the class as a consulting body will be best directed into planning tasks which appeal to all, and in evolving the means for the expression of common interests. It is not enough, as many teachers have believed, to institute a debating half-hour in which set speeches are made and delivered in a more or less painfully artificial manner. The teacher must contrive continually to give his citizens a concrete case to deal with which arouses the deepest interests of all, as for example, the advisability of a light or a heavy punishment for a particular offender against the morale of the class. All such discussions will precipitate the crisis which the teacher must be prepared to meet, and that crisis will arise because a choice must be made between conceding to the scholars the largest possible share in the control of their school life or going back to the old regime.

At first sight it will seem utterly absurd in the eyes of the orthodox to suggest that the power of the teacher to punish the unruly should be questioned. We do not question this right. It is merely pointed out here that the experience of a number of capable teachers proves that children can be trusted to form remarkably good judgments of the actions and motives of their fellows, and when the circumstances of the case demand it, to condemn with greater decision—because their knowledge is more exact and their consciences more sensitive—than their teachers. Indeed, in a well-organised class-group it is its undue severity, not its leniency, that the teacher has to deal with, and, in this case, prudently and gently moderate. It is in gradually teaching the group to combine justice

with mercy that an important function of the teacher consists. Yet if they have already assisted in the business of making rules for their own corporate and individual well-being they will see quite clearly the necessity for keeping strictly to these rules, and under prudent guidance show great discrimination in estimating the extent to which punishment is deserved for breaking them. The child to be punished, moreover, usually adopts quite a different attitude towards a punishment which has a social sanction; he usually accepts it willingly and without resentment, and the teacher who inflicts it is regarded as an agent of the common will rather than as a tyrant from whose authority there can be no appeal. At this stage of its organisation, then, the class will have developed the "duty," and so have secured its correlative "right," to meet as a senate, or council, or committee, and once or twice a week there will be an hour's session set aside for class "legislation."

Practically every subject in the curriculum may be made to furnish a starting-point in the evolution of corporate government. In most schools marks as a stimulus are awarded for work done. These marks may be democratically awarded by the whole class, or a section of it.

In the *New Age* of July 17, 1919, Mr. T. R. Coxon shows how he utilises the mark method and the team spirit in English teaching. His boys may make lists of original ideas, classified under given headings, *e. g.* Subtle Smells, or Pleasing Sensations of Touch. (They are simply exercises, he says, in the power of accurate observation, in the act of digging down below the obvious conscious surface

to a more valuable and interesting stratum of truth and personal feeling.) Mr. Coxon writes: "The form is given a specific time (say twenty minutes) in which to compile the required list. If there is a general desire to continue at the expiration of the time, another five minutes is allowed. Then they are told to stop writing, and each boy reads out his list in turn, while the other members of the form say what marks they think each item deserves. Thoughts that are off the point, or too obvious, are rejected: others receive one or two marks. The voting is generally surprisingly unanimous—just a murmur of 'Too obvious,' or 'One,' or 'Two,' as the case may be—but if there is a marked difference of opinion the master decides. No one who has any knowledge of the schoolboy's mind will need to be told that the voting is scrupulously fair. It also seems to promote a healthy spirit of generosity. The least sign of genius is always welcomed with a chorus of sympathetic approval, and the unhealthy features of individualism fostered by the marking system disappear altogether in the collective mind of the form. . . . (Note that it is not the marking itself that is beneficial, but the interest in each other's work, and in the work as a whole, evoked by the boys' awarding of the marks.)" This is a system which may be commended to the consideration of teachers for it can be extended to all subjects.

In the apprenticeship period before full freedom is gained, the teacher's attention must also be centred upon the task of encouraging suitable group-activities in school work. The privileges and the right to work independently at certain times

should be awarded to any small group which can demonstrate its ability to do so. Thus we may find that a drama-group, a magazine-group, a nature-study group, a gardening group, etc., will spring into existence and organise itself under the surveillance of the teacher sensibly and efficiently. The drama-group, for example, will win respect, if properly encouraged, by its exhibitions before the class or school, and the other groups will be similarly called upon to prove their right to existence. In these small groups the children will learn that not all can be leaders, that some must obey, and that these will generally be the children who lack decided ideas, and who are without daring or originality of any kind—if, indeed, such really exist.

The presence of a number of small groups, each of which in practice will be found to contain members common to all the groups, will give different children different parts to play; in one activity a child will be the leader, in another he will be the lackey. Children, too, who show no aptitude for intellectual work of a high order, may still get their chance to play in these groups a useful part. Thus in a class known to the writer one boy, who was a complete failure at arithmetic and science, was the heart and soul of a handicraft group and did much to make a class magazine successful, while another who was poor at general school work and games played a great part in the dramatisation of history and literature. In a large number of schools the only way of gaining a reputation for ability and virtue among one's fellow scholars is through one's performances on the

playing fields. An increase in the number and nature of self-organised groups will, therefore, widen and heighten the child's ideals of the kinds of achievement which are worth while, besides enriching his experience, and improving his talents.

NOTE

Since the foregoing was written the following report of a paper read at the conference of the Teachers' Guild, January 1, 1920, has appeared (*Daily Telegraph*, January 2, 1920)—

"Mr. Ernest A. Craddock, M.A., Holloway Polytechnic Day School, read a paper on 'The Newer Discipline.' The experiment with which he dealt had, he said, been going on in a London school for nearly two years. The school was of the day secondary type. The boys were the sons of artisans or clerks, for the most part, and many of them held scholarships or free places. Early in 1918 he began experimenting with his form—a fourth—where the average age was thirteen years. He had been watching, as an interested spectator, the efforts of certain boys in the form to set a form magazine upon a sure foundation, and he asked himself, 'How far is it possible for a class of boys to govern itself independently of the teacher?' He determined to set up in his form a miniature republic. The election by the class of a cricket committee gave him the opportunity he sought, and the boys, at the same time, elected a committee of five. Defining his position, he told the boys that in future he should restrict his activities to actual teaching. The discipline of the class, both inside and outside the class-room, was to be in the hands of the committee elected by the boys themselves. This committee would be empowered to punish and to reward, and would be held responsible, not to him but to the class itself, that the home-work was well and punctually performed, that sports were properly conducted, that the room was kept in order, that the boys' appearance was not neglected, and so on.

"The idea appealed to the 'citizens' present, and for a variety of reasons. The executive got to work at once, and, blushing under its new responsibilities, set a home-work task which was

every bit as heady as any he would have given. On the following morning the work set (irregular verbs) was tested by a committeeman. Two boys failed. Richards and Wilcox were ordered 'to write out all five tenses of each verb twice and show us their work to-morrow morning.' Next morning, while Wilcox was inclined to acknowledge the new authority, Richards refused to do so—loudly and with emphasis. Spokesman Hargreaves rose at the end of lessons, and said: 'Richards and Wilcox have not done their verbs, and will do them four times.' The following day it was evident that Richards was still holding out, and in the afternoon the following document was affixed to the class notice board—

NOTICE!

"'Two boys, Richards and Wilcox, are inclined to treat this enterprise as a huge joke, and have refused to do impots that have been justly handed out to them by members of the committee that they helped to vote for. A jury of twelve boys will be chosen from the class, and consider the claims of these conscientious objectors.'

"The last two words had been crossed out in pencil, and in the margin, in the handwriting of Wilcox, was the following protest: 'You have no right to say that about me and Richards.' The trial was held. The two boys were found guilty of disobedience to lawfully constituted authority. The defendants were condemned to do all the work set, and the committee declared its willingness to stay as a body after school hours to see that the thing was done. In this way began the experiment. The committee took upon itself to look after the personal appearance of the boys, and he had known six boys to have their hair cut on one day after a warning from the executive, and one youth, 'a very imperfect ablutioner,' was, after due warning, given a satisfactory wash by the committee as a body. The scheme, proceeded Mr. Craddock, had suffered practically no modifications since its inception. Of late there had been added the class court, established, in the words of the boys themselves, 'for the trial of major offences, the establishment of rules and regulations, and for helping the committee to carry out such rules and regulations.' He could conceive of objections being raised to a general adoption of the principle underlying the experiment, but for himself he would never return to the old system. He had not punished a

boy in any way for two years, and the relations existing between himself and his class were happier, more cordial, more intimate, and more work-inspiring than he had ever thought possible. Against the moral value of the system he thought nothing could be urged, and as an experiment in practical cures it had much to recommend it.

"Out of the experiment grew another. In the early days of the Fourth Form Republic, fearing lest his renunciation of the right to punish should result in an inferiority of work and a diminution of effort, he cast about for another stimulus and found it in the sporting instinct. All that was required in order to make sport of work was to introduce the spirit of the cricket match. The two boys of the class whose work was most generally satisfactory became the leaders of as many sides. The form was divided into two camps. All preparation was done with a view, no longer of advancing the fortunes of the individual, but of his half of the class.

"Mr. Craddock pleaded with teachers to try the experiment in their own classes. They would share in the excitement of the boys, and would find in the scheme of a Form Republic an incentive to fresh efforts.

"Sir W. H. Hadow, the chairman, said the experiment was one of great educational interest and value. With thirty-seven years of university experience, he was cordially in favour of such a scheme, Mr. Craddock's method embodied and illustrated what he had always regarded as the two fundamental maxims of the teacher—Firstly, remember what you were at their age; and secondly, never make it easy, always make it interesting."

CHAPTER XI

THE TEACHER AND HIS EQUIPMENT

The office of teacher is entirely honourable; indeed, it is one of the few which can still be spoken of unreservedly to-day as a vocation. Not many can recognise their work as real social service so sincerely as the teacher. His is an old calling: his spiritual ancestors stood clothed in dignity and fine raiment in high places, in the temples of the gods and behind the thrones of kings; and it was they who were the chosen oracles of wisdom. With their attention steadily and continually fixed on the pulse of the public life, they watched anxiously for signs and symptoms which should reveal the condition of the health of the community, and they rarely failed to recommend sound remedies for application in the hour of need. True enough, they often treated the erring childish community as a sick patient to be watched over sedulously and carefully spoon-fed with pre-digested food, and led out, perhaps too cautiously, by the hand towards what light they thought desirable it should enjoy, but it is after all surprising that the various oracles of antiquity were so often characterised by such shrewd sense and discretion. Thus, the Delphic Oracle was always sufficiently sensitive to the state of the common conscience of mankind never to

utter anything at any time which was in "flagrant violation of the *Jus Gentium*" (*Encyc. Brit.*).

Again, the Hebrew prophets, whom the world has learned to regard as masterly practical psychologists as well as teachers, had for their constant study the condition of the national soul and knew with sure instinct how to guard it from the worst consequences of sin. "Their topic was always the destiny of cities and nations, the rise and fall of kingdoms, national sins and punishments, and 'whether in the judgment it should be more tolerable' for this city or for that."[1] They rebuked both the rulers and the people when the way of these was not the way of righteousness because they realised that a happy and healthy community did not thrive merely by the sound of its songs or by the melody of its viols, or by its burnt-offerings or oblations, but through its devotion to mercy, truth, and justice. The great teachers of Greece and Rome were equally inspired by the ideal of a harmonised and ordered community, holding to what was of proven value, and at the same time reaching out towards new and more fruitful experience.

It is time, once again, that the modern teacher liberated himself occasionally from the self-imposed shackles of the life of the study and came out and mingled with the men and women of the world, where he would be enabled to correlate his practice with the demands of the time, and so revitalising it, resume his interrupted apprenticeship to his true vocation. His art is extremely difficult. Moreover, to-day, he is the servant of fickle and

[1] Seeley, *Natural Religion.*

more democratic masters who are but half-conscious of their real needs, but if only he can learn to drop his more trivial interests in such preoccupations as the collection and barren classification of useless facts, and that pedantic conscientiousness, which so often marks him, about forms and words to the exclusion of the meanings which they body forth, and turn instead to the living arts of inspiration and healing, he may even yet be acclaimed as the imperative counsellor of men.

He may not rise quickly or frequently to the rank of unquestioned sage, exemplifying in his thoughts and actions a perfect expression of the harmony of instinct, intellect and intuition, giving voice to wisdom as profound as marked the responses of the Delphic Oracle, displaying insight and judgment as piercing and shrewd as the Hebrew prophets possessed, manifesting a power of induction and a use of analogy as ripe and as immortal as characterised the argument of Plato and of Socrates. But he will, at least, habitually recognise the ideal, and in normal circumstances attempt to move towards it.

Less, too, than any other man should the teacher be fundamentally preoccupied about the problems of his own ego and with his own desperate little struggles after self-mastery and efficiency. These are important, but he must learn to regard himself as a vessel which holds an *elixir vitæ* which is of more import than the comfort of his empirical self; he must be the flag-bearer heralding the approach of the day of great things, and the dominating impression he must give his pupils is that there are beliefs and attitudes of the utmost social and individual value in this life of ours which he is

passionately interested in seeing widely acknowledged and reverenced. He must cultivate the habit of regarding himself, that is to say, as the instrument of virtue and not virtue itself.

In Ibsen's play, *Peer Gynt*, the hero asks the Button-Moulder the secret of self-realisation and receives the reply that it is

> "to stand
> With *Master's Intention* displayed like a signboard."

In short, to put it crudely, the teacher's function is to make himself a telling and attractive advertisement of the goods which he recommends and to take care that the goods which he recommends are the best.

In this short and final section of our book we shall briefly deal, at the risk of wearying our patient readers, with the teacher's task of self-preparation for his calling, and attempt to point a few obvious truths which he should ever bear in mind.

The teacher's work is such that he is ever called upon to distribute his attention in accordance with many diverse demands. He will find that for long periods his attention is chained to the movements of his pupils, following their every turn and re-turn. He will often reach the end of his day with the feeling that he has been spilling too much of his vitality in the mere drudgery of watching closely the pupils of his charge. Therefore, to recover his intensity of vision and preserve his normality, he needs to balance this scattering activity by a correspondingly effective harvesting activity, and he can do this by the systematic effort in his leisure to bring all his powers to bear upon the consideration

of some single luminous refreshing and vitalising idea.

Especially should he make full and serious use of the few moments of solitude before sleep comes for the concentration of all his attention upon the things which he thinks most worth while, without worry and so with an increasing serenity of simple faith. Then is the time ripe to perfection for this purpose. If he can only learn to fix his thoughts and aspirations in these moments upon the ideal purposes which he has formed, he may in time acquire a decided and permanent "set" of the mind towards virility of thought and endeavour, so that unconsciously he will become biased in his waking life in favour of worthy principles, and develop, moreover, the tendency to act in accordance with them.

If the teacher should ask, therefore, whether there are any natural means by which he may secure an influx of energy into his being sufficiently strong to enable him to overcome difficulties which otherwise would appear insurmountable, we should answer: there assuredly are certain ideas which have the power to unlock and release much latent and unsuspected energy, but these ideas must be turned to repeatedly and brooded over intently before they become vitally forceful; before they become so vividly clear and so imperatively urgent, that is, as to impel him to action. Yet will this kind of brooding and meditation preserve in him the freshness and the sparkle of youth; he will become the master of his thoughts instead of remaining the passive victim of them.

What are these ideas to which we should attend

in the quiet moments when the cares of the day have ceased to infest us? We have sufficiently indicated some of them. Faith in one's vocation must predominate over others if we are to retain our mental vigour. Faith and force are as clearly identical as doubt and debility. In teaching, the difference between success and failure will depend upon the strength and intensity of the teacher's beliefs. He will handicap himself seriously in the race for service, respect and renown if he sets out with a burden of doubt upon his mind, whereas a vital belief will quicken the pace of his efforts and a buoyant attitude of mind will keep him going long after the doubter has fallen out of the running. Hence the value of attending with all one's power to the wisdom and practical advantage of possessing virile beliefs and getting rid of those which paralyse activity.

Develop a faith, we say, which is worthy of you, and brood over it seriously and continually not as the rider behind whom sits black Care, but as the calm mother bending over her babe. That accomplished, not the weapons of a score of feebler men will avail to prevent your march forward along the road towards the realisation of the substance of your hopes. You will go forward irresistibly simply because you must: your own private and selfish considerations will never stand for a single moment in the fierce blaze of necessity which lights up in full glory the cause which you have decided to support.

And you cannot fight with any heart if you think that Nature is against you, if you believe that you lack strength of body, or if you think that

man was not made to be happy. History teems with the examples of men who though feeble in body have manifested the greatest mental energy and efficiency, whereas pessimism will destroy the best of your energy if you allow it to get a firm grip over you. If you find that weariness is the prevalent note in your immediate environment, that continually your friends are assuming an apologetic attitude and declaring that the conditions of life are too much for them, then quit this atmosphere as soon as ever you can and get into an atmosphere of energy and optimism. Get among men who believe in something really virile for virility is contagious.

Moreover, in your daily half-hour of strenuous meditation, aim at seeing as clearly as you can the steps which must lead infallibly to the goal of your hopes, and the steps being seen, suggest firmly to yourself the absolute necessity of following the beckoning finger of Destiny wherever it may chance to lead you. This is but the application of a very simple psychological truth that whatever we attend to at these moments gathers about it the reserve forces of the mind, so that the greater and more frequent the attention the less the chance of detaching these forces from their associations.

A belief which has had a long innings but no longer holds the field to-day is that any one can teach a subject who is sufficiently well-versed in it. This belief is quite sound in so far as it is true that in teaching a subject it is merely one's duty to dole out incontestable facts to one's pupils, and as many facts as possible. However, as we have already attempted to show, since knowledge is not valuable

for its own sake but for the sake of a fuller life, then it becomes the duty of the teacher to seek to learn how to present his subject attractively and effectively, and what facts to select for emphasis and why. Knowledge, then, must be regarded as something of great potential rather than actual value. Whereas to the pedant it becomes a load which it is his duty to carry conscientiously through life, an intolerable burden in the eyes of others; to the vital and thoughtful man it becomes a bright sword of tempered steel which he can use for the purpose of carving right royally, through noble service, his way to fortune and to fame.

There is a common type of teacher and student only too anxious to show that he knows his subjects from alpha to omega. If asked a question he does his best—or worst—to drag in every available detail of knowledge, relevant or irrelevant, which he can lay hands upon, in the hope of astounding his hearers into a state of respect. But the great essential in teaching and in study is to be able to seize quickly the salient facts and deal with them efficiently. Details of lesser importance should depend for their continued existence in memory upon the relevancy of their connection with the ideas which have an obvious intrinsic value.

The teacher should get firmly fixed in his mind the idea that there is a fundamental value which some kinds of knowledge possess and others lack. When one compares, for example, the *Bible* with the *Encyclopædia Britannica* one must be struck by the fact that whereas in the latter case we have complete knowledge in a state of suspended animation, as it were, we have in the former case, by some

strange alchemy, a living knowledge functioning as power. Now it is the teacher's chief problem to learn how to vitalise knowledge. He must guard against the habit of throwing the whole lifeless book of his learning at the heads of his pupils in the hope that some of it will find its way into their minds. He must get some principle of selection, win the courage for rejection, find some scale of values which will enable him to choose the particular item of information which is most apt and vital at the moment and to dismiss all that is not strictly relevant. To give more than is needed is not only bad art and poor economy; it is a confession of one's inability to choose skilfully from the store of one's treasures the gift which alone is appropriate to the occasion.

This habit of squandering one's hoard is the inevitable consequence of the habit of bad hoarding. Those who harvest wisely are least likely to use recklessly. Those who in learning put all their energy into the indiscriminate collection of details too often miss the important thing which in itself is worth all the details. Thus, for example, a teacher will often approach the problem of understanding or explaining a poem or picture, armed with a long questionnaire, the answers to which will exhaust every possible item of information about its subject. Such a ruthless attempt to pluck the heart out of the mystery may mean that he will miss the essential secret of the thing—he will not be able "to see the wood for the trees."

Again, to illustrate the same point, let the reader make an attempt to get specialist teachers to give reasons why their special subjects should be accorded

a place in the school curriculum, and to say what they think ought to be the result upon the minds of their pupils of a course of five years' training in their subjects. The answers will often reveal the fact that they are inclined to over-emphasise the importance of the acquisition of a sound body of detailed knowledge, and to under-estimate the value of a wise teaching of their subjects in determining for the better the outlook of the pupils upon life, in quickening and energising and humanising them.

In all study and in all teaching there should be present a general cultural and social aim which can act as a framework for the support of the relevant facts, or as a magnet which will attract the details that have an affinity for it, and decide their general arrangement. Therefore we urge the teacher to keep the cultural and social aspects of the subjects of the curriculum constantly in mind, to return time and again to the writings of the greatest exponents of each subject and, indeed, to keep in touch with all the more important discussions which turn upon its fundamental principles. It is too fatally easy to lose sight of the final goal when all one's attention is taken up by the task of fixing in the minds of pupils a few doubtfully important facts which they might very well be without. A thorough grasp of the first principles of each branch of knowledge and of their possibilities for aiding the development of individual and national well-being will prove a sure guide in the selection of material for emphasis.

Since we have suggested already which are the principal aspects of the subjects of the curriculum

needing attention it only remains for us here to urge the teacher to give an increasing measure of his thought and skill to this part of his task, and to remember always the urgent need of strengthening, developing, refining, and widening the native interests of the child for the sake of individual and social well-being.

So much depends upon the teacher being able to put ideas before the minds of his pupils in a vivid and inspiring manner that we feel justified here in devoting a few lines [1] to the subject. The secret of being a skilful expositor depends principally upon one's interest in the subject to point one's meaning. The great orator is able always to enforce his argument, and retain the interest of his audience because in addition to his enthusiasm he possesses this power of making his meaning effective through the felicitous use of epigrams and anecdotes : he is "full of wise saws and modern instances."

The teacher should, therefore, never allow himself to rest content with just a vague colourless and lifeless general statement of his meaning. Such a meaning may be interpreted in a dozen different ways. The cynic will point out the advantages of ambiguity to the statesman and the lawyer—and indeed there is a legitimate element of ambiguity in every word complementary to its definiteness—but the teacher needs to cultivate the spirit of frankness and sincerity as his stock-in-trade. The ideal explanation combines a general statement with a vivid concrete illustration which touches a vital interest or purpose common to his audience. The

[1] See Prof. John Adams's *Exposition and Illustration* for more detailed treatment.

teacher, then, should follow up every general statement of his meaning with a striking particular example of the sort of thing he has in mind, and so show beyond all doubt that he has fully grasped the significance of what he is thinking and saying. It is this power of piercing through the superficial conscious attention of his pupils into the core of their living interests which makes a speaker or teacher really successful.

Socrates in speaking to the Greeks of the noble life frequently made use of the thoroughly familiar analogy of the craftsman's art to point his argument for the necessity of regarding the pursuit of virtue as something involving continuous exercise and patience. He, too, used just those illustrations which were able to link up his ideals with the dominant interests of his hearers. One can well imagine him, indeed, comparing the brilliant teacher who knows his subject thoroughly but cannot expound it, with the enthusiastic apprentice or amateur who has not yet been subjected to the long discipline of a craft. He would instance the obvious ease of the professional lecturer as an example of the beneficial effect of practice. Just as the shoemaker, or the harnessmaker, or the sculptor gains his skill and dexterity only as a result of untiring application, so the teacher, he would say, must strive daily to focus his judgments and point his expressions. Through this constant effort he will learn to make the vague idea clear, the clear idea attractive, and the attractive idea convincing.

The teacher would do well to-day to study assiduously the methods of the journalist, the salesman, and the advertiser who are obliged to be

attractive if they are to succeed. This does not mean, of course, that he will cease to think about the quality of the education he is giving his scholars, but he will know better as a result which are the times and the seasons and the methods best suited for the sowing of his seed.

The reasons why many people oppose the direct teaching of morality in the schools is that so few of us are equipped to deal in concrete ways with the subject: we are so prone to the vice of talking in easy *generalities* about the desirability of virtue. All the classic attempts at teaching morals have been through parables and stories which possess a direct appeal to living interests; for the only sure way to the child's heart is by this route. We note that Mr. F. J. Gould, one of the most successful teachers in this connection, invariably makes the anecdote the chief instrument of his instruction, quoting freely as occasion demands from Æsop, Plutarch, and their successors in the realm of story.

Finally, to remain alert and inspiring, the teacher must always be an active member of the community in which he lives, alive to all its vital needs, and in tune with all its aspirations, yet never neglectful of the wisdom of the ages which are past. We need scarcely remind him that through books he may be introduced into the society of the greatest men and women of every time and race. He knows full well that it is possible for us to leave the company of friends when triviality and gossip bore us, and commune with Socrates and Shakespeare and their peers. As Bacon said, "In study we hold converse with the wise: in action usually with the foolish." A far-sighted idealism, a serene equipoise

and an intensely urgent faith may result from such communion.

Yet so innocent a recreation as reading has its dangers; it may engender a snobbish self-esteem and an unwarranted contempt for the mere multitude. The greatest men, we should recollect always, walked and talked with their fellows; their philosophy was an open-air growth native to its environment and an expression of the moods of the hour, not a rare exotic plant sheltered carefully from criticism and the common breath of ordinary mortals. In all the eras of extraordinary culture and vigour—and the history of Athens, Italy, and England provides proof of it—the greatest men were intimately in touch with all the currents of contemporary life: they were the representative men of their age. The pulsating present and the corporate life of all, in family, in neighbourhood, in city or region, in club, party, or church, in community or nation, should ever inspire our best work. The past will provide us with wisdom enough, only if we have the enthusiasms of the present correctly focused. To belong wholly to the living present is to be a Philistine; to have our interests centred completely in the past is to be merely "academic." Ever balanced in his interests in past and present, in theory and practice, in concrete circumstance and abstract principle must the teacher go forward with his heart set upon the future that is yet to be.

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